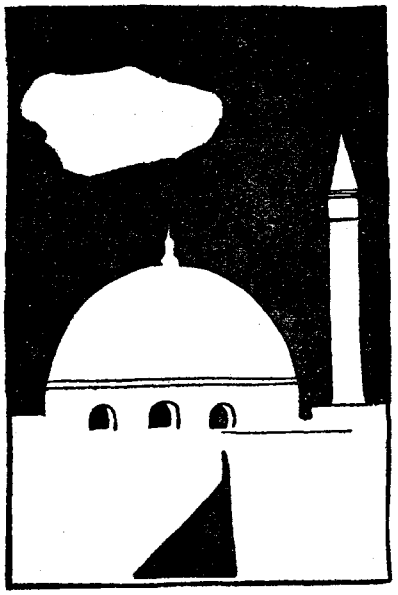
The Nation's Honor Roll for 1929

The Nation

Vol. CXXX, No. 3366 Founded 1865 Wednesday, January 8, 1930



Palestine

Dr. Magnes and Zionism

by Ferdinand M. Isserman

Letters from *Nation* Readers

Why Consolidate Railroads?

by Donald R. Richberg

Sugar in Washington

What the Lobby Committee Found

by Arthur Warner

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Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1887, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1930, by The Nation, Inc.

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THE LOGICAL ANSWER

to the Republican-Democratic Alliance

AMERICAN political history has reached a turning point. The two major parties have ceased to exist as separate and opposing entities except in name. The old balance between Democracy and Republicanism, which enabled Americans to determine the character of their government through the medium of the ballot, has vanished.

But it is a prime law of nature that the more completely a balance is destroyed, the more swiftly a new balance is established.

A NEW POLITICAL PARTY is in the making. It will not, like the Progressive Party which disintegrated with the death of LaFollette, depend for action and traction solely upon the energy of one man. It will be built from the ground up, not from the top down. It will be a welding together of the progressive elements in the labor movement, the agricultural bloc, the socialist movement, the professional group, the religious group, and the newspaper field. It will attract people of liberal tendencies in growing numbers from the old parties, thus depleting their ranks while swelling its own.

The League for Independent Political Action is at the helm of this movement to organize and coordinate a new political party. The League does not itself intend to become the new party, but to act as a clearing house and binder for those groups which should logically unite in the formation of such a party. Dr. John Dewey is Chairman of the National Committee. Recently for five days he expounded the new party to enthusiastic audiences in the rockbound Republican state of Ohio.

With hardly a dissenting vote, *Nation* readers will wish to throw their influence into the creation of this new political alignment. All who join *The League* before June 1, 1930, will be known as Charter Members and their names enrolled among the founders of the movement.

Dues for Membership in The League *are* $2. *But by special arrangement we are enabled to offer a one-year subscription to* The Nation ($5) *together with a Charter Membership in* The League *at the reduced combination rate of only* $6. *This entitles you to 52 issues of* The Nation *and all the literature and bulletins issued by* The League. The appended coupon is for your convenience and quick action.

"No discouragements of the past should blind us to the fact that the Republican-Democratic alliance can never endure. Both have become the political expressions of the great business groups. Critical constructive opposition is our greatest need. The solution rests in a new political alignment whereby economic liberals will leave the old parties and unite to build up a new party based on the principle of increasing social control."

—*From the prospectus of The League for Independent Political Action.*

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The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1930 No. 3366

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: NATION, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 34, Clifton Gardens, W. 9, London, England.

THE TEMPER OF INDIA is clearly indicated by the scenes that took place at the opening of the Indian Nationalist Congress on December 29, 1929. Shouts, riots, men and women fainting in the crush, leaders whose speeches counseling moderation and sobriety could not be heard above the melee—these were the order of the opening day. And to add to the color and confusion of the proceedings came 9,000 Sikhs, yellow clad, dust-covered, with naked swords beating time on their scabbards as they marched. So far the moderates have won a further reprieve; Gandhi defeated by a vote of 131 to 89 the proposal of Subash Bose providing for complete cessation of participation in the present government; and the plan of non-cooperation is set for some future day. But to say, as the London *Times* with foolish confidence says, that the Congress need not be taken seriously and that its resolution for complete independence instead of dominion status does not represent the people of India, "nine-tenths of . . . which are illiterates not caring a fig for politics," is to ignore completely the dangerous possibilities of the situation. The demands of the executive committee of the Congress are for boycott of the existing government, refusal to participate in the proposed round-table conference in London between representatives of the Indian Nationalists and of the British Government, and for giving the Nationalist Congress authority to institute non-cooperation whenever it deems it advisable. This, of course, is further temporizing. But the Indian situation right now is dynamite of the most explosive kind. Not Gandhi, not the British Raj, not all the counsels of moderation in the world can stop that powder train if once it starts to explode. It is the duty both of the Indian Nationalists and of the British Labor Government to prevent an explosion if it is humanly possible. This is no time for ultimatums on either side.

SENATOR BORAH IS QUITE RIGHT. The President's Law Enforcement Commission cannot inform us what the prohibition law is, for we know that, and nothing will really be done to enforce the law until there is a complete change in the enforcement personnel. We should add that there will be no real enforcement until there is absolute determination on the part of our highest officials to procure it. It all rests with President Hoover himself. He has now been ten months in office and there has been no change. He has tried to duck the issue by appointing the Law Enforcement Commission and by announcing that he is going to make the District of Columbia a model of what the country should and can do on the liquor question. No report from his commission will relieve him from his sworn duty to enforce the prohibition law until it is repealed. We have heard a lot about this wonderful executive and his organizing ability. Here is his chance to show what he can do. He will accomplish nothing until, as Senator Borah suggests, he fires every man in the service who will not do his duty and appoints men who will. If we were of the school which put this law into our Constitution we should make Mr. Hoover's life miserable in every legitimate way until he set himself to the task he is now shirking precisely as did his immediate predecessors in the White House.

MR. HOOVER APPARENTLY INTENDS to make this a business administration in diplomacy. With Charles G. Dawes at London, Walter E. Edge at Paris, and now Frederick M. Sackett at Berlin, the business man has come into somewhat more than his own in occupying the diplomatic seats of the mighty. There is, of course, something thoroughly appropriate in these appointments at the hands of an administration whose chief emphasis is on business efficiency, and probably that administration is reasonably representative of the present-day United States. Yet we cannot forbear casting a wistful glance backward at the days when a Bancroft or a Motley was considered an appropriate representative of this country of ours. Nor can we really believe that corresponding appointments today would be either inappropriate or undesirable.

"AN ABSOLUTE SURRENDER of a basic principle of Anglo-Saxon liberty" is Representative James M. Beck's characterization of the proposal to confer upon

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Mr. Hoover the right to make tariff duties "flexible" by lowering or raising them as he sees fit. "I believe that our constitutional institutions are in process of dissolution," Mr. Beck told the Bond Club of New York a few days ago. Doubtless we shall continue to have a President, a Congress, and a Supreme Court for a long time, but the character of the Presidential office is changing at the expense of Congress because the spirit of the people "is one that believes in the concentration of power in one man." The Sixteenth Amendment, Mr. Beck declared, violated the original intent of the Constitution by making the imposition of income taxes independent of the proportionate representation of the States in the House, while the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted "simply through the impact of minorities upon cowardly legislators and public men." We have more than once found ourselves in sharp opposition to Mr. Beck in political matters, but when he attacks the rapid undermining of the Constitution by the growth of executive usurpation the former Solicitor General is on solid ground and we are glad to commend his courage.

THE FIVE CHILDREN of Mrs. Ella May Wiggins, murdered in the course of the Marion textile strike disturbances last fall, are now in a State home for orphans. The man who shot Mrs. Wiggins is at large, although a group of persons have been tried for and acquitted of her murder by due process of law in North Carolina. The deputies of Marion who shot and killed six strikers in a riot in front of one of the mills are also at large, the State having absolved them, too, of any stigma of murder. But the American Civil Liberties Union refuses to be disheartened by this turn of affairs. It has instituted civil suits for damages on behalf of Mrs. Wiggins's estate against the mills, the Gastonia *Gazette,* and twenty-four persons. It has filed suits against the sheriff of Mecklenburg County and other officers for unlawfully arresting and imprisoning four union organizers. It will shortly begin damage suits on behalf of three textile organizers, Lell, Saylors, and Wells, kidnapped by a group of over-patriotic citizens and taken to a lonely spot in the country where one of them was flogged. It will appeal the cases of the seven men convicted of conspiracy to kill Chief of Police Aderholt in Gastonia and sentenced to from five to twenty years in prison. For these and other activities that will give courage to the underpaid and overworked textile workers of the South, the union deserves the thanks of everybody who prefers justice and decency to the most barefaced exploitation. But it needs more than thanks: it needs funds to carry on this work. Those who wish to help may do so by sending contributions to the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

A SHARP WARNING from Dr. Schacht, president of the Reichsbank, early in December, that the financial reforms necessary to enable Germany to meet its obligations under the Young plan had not yet been made, followed by the authorization of a foreign loan of $100,000,000 which Dr. Schacht refused to approve and for which temporary advances from the Reichsbank were immediately substituted, calls attention to the unhappy state of German finances and German economic life. Fortunately the Müller Government, after venting its wrath upon Dr. Schacht, announced an elaborate program of reform and thereby probably saved itself from being turned out of office; but the Finance Minister, Dr. Hilferding, resigned and Professor Paul Mollenhauer has taken his portfolio. The Reichsbank loan will relieve the pressure upon the treasury and take care of an estimated deficit of 1,700,000,000 marks at the end of the fiscal year. On December 7 the number of unemployed who were receiving doles reached 1,250,000, an increase of more than 100,000 in a single week and a half million greater than the number a year ago. The index of wholesale prices had declined on December 4 to 134.6 against 140.3 the previous year, and the output of iron in November was the smallest of any month since February. German industry, in short, is showing the strain which foreign borrowings have for some time concealed.

FROM VICTOR CAUVIN, secretary-general of the Union Patriotique d'Haïti, we have what purports to be the inside story of just how the recent disturbances in Haiti started. Not disaffection with President Borno, the American-made executive of Haiti, but plain dislike of American methods of administration was evidently the source of the trouble. Demands that students of the Central Agricultural School found petty and humiliating were made on them by George F. Freeman, its American head; the students rebelled and were told by Mr. Freeman to remove themselves elsewhere if they did not care for his system of education. Some two hundred students decided to strike and marched in orderly lines into the town; twice they were dispersed by police and reassembled. This strike spread to other schools, all the demonstrations being quiet and orderly. On December 3 the Government issued a communiqué disclaiming all responsibility for any measures that might be taken against the strikers. Troops appeared on the following day at the town of Jacmel. At Port au Prince an American struck a Haitian employee of the custom house, and in protest the whole custom-house personnel joined in the strike. Martial law was thereupon instituted without sufficient warning to the citizens, many of whom were arrested for violating it in consequence. Since the strikes continued to spread through the town, martial law was not revoked until December 17. M. Cauvin says: "Until the seventeenth of this month [December] we could not walk the streets from 9 p.m. till 5:30 a.m. We were treated as enemies in our own homes, in our own country." This seems to be the gist of the matter. We tend to forget that Haiti belongs to the Haitians. We cannot, of course, vouch for the word by word accuracy of M. Cauvin's report. But its import is clear enough. It shows that the American administration in Haiti has been short-sighted, domineering, and brutal. It is a bad record for us; we can only begin to amend it by getting out.

NATIONALIST PARTY SUCCESS in Egypt appears to be complete, all but seven of the 235 seats in the Chamber of Deputies having been won by the Wafd, or by a small group of Independents who will act with the Wafd, in the election just held. Reballoting in eighteen constituencies will not change the general result, since at most it can only reduce slightly the overwhelming Wafd majority. The election was interesting because of the creation of twenty-one new seats in the Chamber on account of the increase of population since the previous election, and because

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the election was held on the basis of direct suffrage instead of the secondary or "two-degree" basis which the constitution appears to contemplate. Rather curiously, the proposed treaty between Egypt and Great Britain, the negotiation of which has been hanging fire, did not enter as a direct issue into the electoral contest; not, it is reported, because of popular opposition to the treaty, but because support of the treaty would help the former premier, Mahmoud Pasha, whom the Nationalist or Wafd Party had denounced as a dictator and sought to defeat. It is expected that the treaty question will be taken up as soon as the new government is formed and the outlook for the treaty seems to be good.

> As a remembrance of a limpid and heroic page made sacred by the sacrifice of our martyrs, the banners and histories of the chapters will be offered to the Historical Museum of Fascism where they should remain as a symbol of devotion to our ideals.

THIS LYRIC FLIGHT, uttered by Count Ignazio Thaon di Revel, was the swan song of the Fascist League of America, officially disbanded on December 31, 1929. Count Revel carefully explained that the league, with its membership (reputed) of 12,000, was to be dissolved because its aims—"to acquaint America with the ideals of fascism and the marvelous work of national reconstruction accomplished by the Fascisti government in Italy"—had been achieved. This is, of course, as it may be. But although Count Revel denied it with amused tolerance, one suspects that it was not entirely the accomplishment of all its ends that put the league out of business, but certain strictures on its methods. The league has been a little too high-handed in its dealings; it has not even been above violence in its campaign of acquainting America with the ideals of fascism, reprisal for which culminated in the murder of two overactive league members. Marcus Duffield, in an article in *Harper's Magazine* last November, charged the league with setting up, among Italian Americans, a dictatorship whose ultimate control was vested in the Duce himself. This article was brought up for comment in the United States Senate a fortnight or so ago. In spite of denial by Secretary Stimson that any fault was to be found with the League, one guesses that Mussolini's assistants in this country thought the water was getting a little too hot.

STOPPING THE GOLD FLOW from Argentina was President Irigoyen's aim in closing by decree, on December 17, the Caja de Conversion or exchange bank at Buenos Aires. The reason for this sudden action, which came as a surprise to the financial world, was alleged to be the "damaging influence" of exchange fluctuations upon the Argentine market and the consequent shipments of gold coin out of the country "without justifiable causes." The immediate effect of the decree, of course, is to remove Argentina from the list of countries which maintain the gold standard, but the whole transaction appears somewhat hard to explain. New York banking opinion inclines to the view that President Irigoyen's decree, besides being precipitate, was unnecessary and the action in any case is disturbing. It is true that general business conditions in Argentina during the past year have been getting worse rather than better, with an unfavorable balance of trade, high rediscount rates, and a consequent outflow of gold. On the other hand the Banco de la Nacion, the central bank of Argentina, which as a result of the decree takes control of the exchange situation save as local banks may still, apparently, export such gold as they have, is reported to have an 82 per cent gold reserve against outstanding currency—one of the highest reserve ratios, perhaps actually the highest, in the world. It is not clear that Argentina has anything to gain by dropping the gold standard. Currency depreciation, certainly, will not minister to its prosperity.

TO HAROLD J. LASKI has come a signal honor. He has been chosen by Ramsay MacDonald to lead in an investigation of the administrative machinery of the English government, which may result in several changes in the British constitution—at least so the dispatches announce. Whether they exaggerate or not, it may be laid down as certain that whatever subject Mr. Laski applies himself to he will illuminate—witness his searching article in the January *Harper's* entitled Can Business Be Civilized? Indeed, the strength of the British Labor Party remains in the men of most unusual intellectual caliber whom it can call upon for party service; it is open to question whether any other national political organization can equal it in this respect. That the Labor Party is planning far-reaching constructive changes is altogether significant. If through Professor Laski and those with whom he will serve the party will in due time announce definite recommendations as to administrative reforms and constitutional changes, there will be conclusive answers to the recent Conservative charges that the MacDonald Administration is leading only in foreign affairs.

Peace Be to Zion

AS the British investigation of the riots in Palestine comes to an end, and as the passions aroused in connection with those outbreaks gradually cool, we are struck with the substantial agreement among intelligent and well-disposed observers, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, on certain essentials of the Palestinian question, however sharply they may have differed concerning the events of the months just past. It is agreed, first, that the association in any way of Zionism with British imperial interests and ambitions is unfortunate for a movement which is in essence cultural and spiritual. As it is phrased, "Zion cannot be built on bayonets." Second, it is agreed that under existing conditions the Jews cannot expect, and ought not to ask, the political domination of Palestine. Third, it is agreed that they ought to be adequately protected against such murderous attacks as those of the past summer. Fourth, and most important, it is agreed that whatever arrangements are worked out for the political control and the necessary policing of the country, the permanent structure of Zion must be built on a foundation of mutual understanding between Jews and Arabs.

We have not tried to assess the exact immediate blame for the attacks of last August, though it seems clear from the testimony thus far that they were instigated at least in part by certain fanatical Arab leaders. Nor have we attempted, in advance of the findings of the investigation, to determine definitely the responsibility of the British Government,

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whether by reason of the conflict between the Balfour Declaration and the alleged war-time promises to the Arabs or because of laxity in the local administration at a time when trouble was evidently impending. Because we have tried to understand and explain, as far as we could, what lay in the background of the killings, many of our readers have apparently felt that we were inclined to condone the attacks on the Jews. Nothing could be further from the truth; we have nothing but reprobation for violence and murder, and sympathy for the victims. But we have no word to retract that we have spoken in defense of Arab rights; nor have the Arabs forfeited those rights by the misconduct of some of their number.

Our primary interest, however, is not in the wrongs and mistakes of the past, or even in the immediate responsibility for them. Our concern is with the future. Zionism, we believe, has a genuine cultural and spiritual contribution to make to modern life. The economic and political tasks of working out that contribution are of the utmost difficulty and complexity, in view of the physical, racial, and religious conditions in Palestine. Because we are wholly friendly to this great undertaking, and because we are confident that no enduring structure can be built in Palestine except on the basis of Arab friendliness and good-will, we have supported the irenic position of Dr. Magnes. In his steadfast adherence to the highest ethical standards in the face of the most bitter provocation, that great leader seems to us at once to uphold the finest tradition of Judaism and to point the only possible way to the true success of Zionism. At cost, if need be, of further misunderstanding, but in full confidence that our belief is right, we once more assert that the only way for those who have been wronged in Palestine is the way, not of vengeance, but of forgiveness and reconciliation.

Pittsburgh's Shame

WE have already commented briefly upon the case of Frederic E. Woltman, graduate assistant in the department of philosophy at the University of Pittsburgh, who was summarily dismissed from his assistantship on May 2 last and also expelled from the university because of his alleged connection with a meeting of the Liberal Club, a student organization, at which Professor Harry Elmer Barnes of Smith College was scheduled to speak. It will be recalled that the meeting of the club, called specifically "to demand the unconditional release of Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings," was first denied the use of a room in one of the university buildings, was then debarred from all university property, and was finally held in a lot near the university where Professor Barnes spoke from the running-board of an automobile. This was on April 12. On April 24 the club was officially dissolved by the university authorities, but continued its activities off the campus with the result that, on May 2, two students who had been leaders in the club activities were expelled and Mr. Woltman, who was not a member of the club, was both expelled and dismissed.

A committee of the American Association of University Professors has lately investigated this extraordinary situation and its report has just been published. Never, in all the long list of infractions of academic freedom which the association has investigated, has a university administration emerged more thoroughly damned. The condemnation is the more severe because of the scrupulous care which the committee appears to have taken to give full weight to the factors, few though they are, by which the university administration might profit. They recognize, for example, that no question of tenure was involved in Mr. Woltman's dismissal, since he held a one-year appointment, had no reasonable ground to expect that he would be reappointed, and was paid his salary for the full year notwithstanding that he was dropped in May. They cite the feeling on the part of the faculty that the situation of the university administration "really is difficult." "It has adopted a highly ambitious project of expansion, calling for greatly increased endowment; it is dependent for funds partly on the local community and partly on a State government, in both of which the influence and peculiar point of view of certain big-business and industrial interests seem to be paramount." Yet it is the judgment of the committee that Mr. Woltman, who had spoken and written on labor and other subjects, "was dismissed without a statement of charges and without a hearing, without any allegation of incompetence for his academic duties, and without recommendation by the department in which these duties were performed."

The "administration" of the University of Pittsburgh is President John Gabbert Bowman, sometime secretary of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, whose handling of professorial pensions *The Nation* has several times dissected. Dr. Bowman's 680-feet-high, ten-million-dollar "Cathedral of Learning" is apparently intended to be an "efficient" institution such as "certain big-business and industrial interests," along with the cultured and the man in the street, will approve. The association's committee finds that Dr. Bowman is a dictator, and it suggests that he is a coward. In spite of his denial that the university objected to professors taking part in the discussion of public questions, provided they did not engage in "propaganda that seemed to associate the name of the university with the end sought," he frankly admitted that a member of the faculty who did not yield to "friendly remonstrance" would be dismissed, and added that "at the present time there were four or five members of the faculty to whom this was likely to happen." The conclusion of the committee is, in substance, that the president is afraid of his financial supporters, that he offers only the choice of a one-hundred-per-cent loyalty to his own notions of things or dismissal, that the faculty has "little or no part in the government of the university," and that the professors are terrorized. The fact that all members of the faculty are employed under yearly contracts, with no presumption of permanence, naturally makes their dismissal easy.

The association has done an admirable piece of work in eviscerating this latest academic scandal. It will not have completed the great task of liberating the professoriate, however, until it has devised some method of bringing such a boss-ridden institution as the University of Pittsburgh to book. As long as professors are willing, as they are, to take the places of colleagues who have been unwarrantably dismissed, and having done so can still retain good standing in the profession, academic freedom will remain only a form of words.

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Disarmament Difficulties

THE French naval memorandum, made public on the day after Christmas, served at once to emphasize the difficulties facing the London Naval Conference and to indicate its possible usefulness. The note serves notice that the French navy is going to be based on the needs of the French empire as understood in France—an uncompromising suggestion of the difficulties of the conference—and declares that "the conference will fail to achieve its object to the full unless it makes it lead to a general agreement in Geneva as to the methods for the limitation of naval armaments."

The accomplishment at London of anything worth while depends on a rare combination of idealism and hard-headed realism. Probably no man in public life combines those qualities in higher degree than Ramsay MacDonald, and it is good that the conference is to have the advantage of his leadership. Yet no one should be betrayed into false hopes on that account. At the time of Mr. MacDonald's visit to our shores last summer, his earnestness and eloquence led many enthusiastic observers to feel that the day of peace on earth was very near. At that very moment, however, more hard-headed critics pointed out that aside from psychological results the immediate practical outcome of the MacDonald-Hoover conferences, as far as the public was informed, had been precisely nothing. Since that time a somewhat bewildered American public has learned that despite President Hoover's statement plans of the Navy Department for cruiser building have not been held up by a single day. Mr. MacDonald did make a gesture toward delaying naval construction; yet if we are not mistaken all inquiries addressed to the present British Government concerning actual naval work have been answered to the satisfaction of alarmed patriots who feared an undue weakening of the navy. In both countries there has been a gap between talk and action that is painful to contemplate. Yet we are not inclined to charge either of the chief leaders concerned with hypocrisy. The hard realities of the situation have proved too much for the idealism that found expression in public utterance. Appeals to popular sentiment have run afoul of contracts and political commitments. Ramsay MacDonald's pacifism is genuine enough, but when it comes to actual naval cuts the Admiralty holds the trumps, and the blessed state of parity is to be achieved, it appears, by our building up to Britain instead of Britain's building down to us. If results are to be achieved at London then, it must be by a clear understanding that words, however eloquent, are no substitute for deeds.

From this point of view the elimination of the Paris peace pact from the London discussion may be by no means an unmitigated loss. President Hoover and Prime Minister MacDonald based their disarmament pronouncements on the idea of the peace pact. The French Government says of the pact: "It is undoubtedly a real step toward the preservation of peace, but it cannot be looked upon as sufficient in its present state to guarantee the security of nations." The note goes on somewhat cruelly: "It was this consideration, no doubt, that prevented the British Government from contemplating a substantial reduction in their naval armament and the American Government from giving up the prompt execution of their latest naval program."

It is time to stop talking nonsense about basing naval limitation on the peace pact. If the pact means anything, it means that the nations accepting it are not going to fight. But navies are made to fight. As long as you maintain navies then you are proceeding on the assumption that the pact, for practical purposes, is meaningless; and the idea of basing naval limitations as opposed to abolition on the pact is logically nonsense. Neither Mr. Hoover nor Mr. MacDonald last summer had the slightest idea of scrapping his country's navy, nor will a single delegate come to London with such an idea even remotely in mind. How then could a resulting treaty possibly be based on the pact? To attempt any such logical feat is simply to darken counsel by words without knowledge. And the frank elimination of the Paris document, while it may dash unjustifiably high hopes, may also serve to keep men's eyes on the practical realities and possibilities of the situation. The conference in fact is going to make little practical difference in the actual business of naval construction unless the governments concerned experience a change of heart of which there is no evidence. The French note is clear and frank on this point. It says flatly that the French navy is going to be based not on sentiment embodied in the peace pact but on "national needs," taking into account France's geographical position and colonial empire. Such an attitude deals openly with existing political realities in terms of force and supposed national interests. Such an attitude makes striking naval reduction well nigh impossible. Yet such an attitude seems in fact to be taken, as far as we can see, by all the Powers concerned, though none of the others has stated it quite so plainly. We should approach the conference, accordingly, with no illusions.

Because of these difficulties, shall we simply wash our hands of the conference? By no means. The world is as it is; if we expect little, we may be grateful for not much. If definite plans of limitation, carefully worked out, can be put forward, some slight measure of relief from competitive expenditure may be achieved, as happened at Washington. Further, a fillip may be given to the lagging work of the League's Disarmament Commission, through which France insists, perhaps rightly, any approach to a general move toward armament reduction must come. Finally, the conference, happily, is going to contain some men, at least, who really believe that reason can take the place of force as the ultimate international arbiter. Let their hands be strengthened by the support of the world's peace forces, and this conference may take on the character of a cooperative attempt at solving common problems. If it does, it will be worth while, no matter how small its concrete achievements. For the attainment of peace is a matter both of public sentiment and of the right organization of international relations. The peoples, eager for peace, will back their government representatives, we are confident, in every move they may make in the direction of armament reduction.

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The Non-Existent Soviets

IN compiling *The Nation's* Honor Roll for 1929 we had great trouble in deciding whether to give first place, on the score of humor, to the *New Yorker* or to the Department of State. We finally gave it to the *New Yorker* on the ground that our cheerful contemporary is always good-natured, which the State Department sometimes is not. But we confess that we find the State Department a great deal funnier than the *New Yorker*. In the field of metaphysics, moreover, or in the solving of conundrums, the department so happily presided over by Mr. Stimson is certainly without peer. In its performance of that old favorite piece, "When Is a State Not a State," the department surely stands near the top in the field of drama also.

The latest scene in the play, up to the time of writing, has been put on with the cooperation of Senator Borah, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and the Department of the Interior. Senator Borah sent a personal appeal to M. Litvinov, Acting Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, while the department sent messages through the Soviet Union Information Bureau to the officially non-existent Soviet Government, and through Governor Parks of Alaska to those substantial material realities the Soviet icebreakers Lipke and Stavropol, in each case asking aid in finding our lost fliers Eielson and Borland. According to the earlier newspaper dispatches, Secretary Wilbur in an apparent fit of absentmindedness sent off the message to Moscow without stopping to consult Mr. Stimson. Later dispatches report that he had State Department consent. In any case, we hope that he will not be proceeded against under the Logan Act; and as he was corresponding with a government that does not exist anyway, he will probably come off free. Concerning the messages to the ships, the State Department graciously informed Mr. Wilbur that it had no objection to the appeal for help—very likely because these ghostly icebreakers, though they are the property of a metaphysical no-state, yet have the solid material quality of cutting a good deal of ice when it comes to saving lost polar fliers.

The response to Secretary Wilbur's appeal was striking, coming as it did from no government at all. This Soviet unreality promptly dispatched a plane under the guidance of Semyon Shestakov, the celebrated flier who piloted the Land of the Soviets from Moscow to New York, in search of Eielson and Borland, and ordered two other planes to aid in the expedition. If Shestakov, Russian national hero, at the risk of his own life should rescue our fliers, we presume that the State Department again would have no objection. If human lives were not at stake, one could enjoy without qualification this merry game of hide and seek that our State Department plays, able to see the Soviet Government when it wants to get something out of that organization, but under any other circumstances acting deaf, dumb, and blind.

This little play of the State Department's is much like the classical marionette show; it goes on for years in a series of changing scenes, and when one set of actors is killed off, their successors play much the same part. The department could not recognize the Soviet Government because it repudiated the Czarist debts, because it confiscated the private property of American citizens, because it carried on propaganda for a world revolution, and now, forsooth, because M. Litvinov has given Secretary Stimson a sharp slap on the wrist over his invocation of the Paris pact in connection with the settlement of the Chinese Eastern Railway question.

Of course, the play has its inconveniences. As we recognize no Russian government with which we can make a deportation convention, we cannot deport Russian undesirables to the land of the Soviets, and the first thing we know we may find traffic in our streets blocked by Russian Communists and other such kittle-cattle who with the devilish ingenuity for which they are famed have managed in one way or another to evade the vigilance of the immigration service. More serious are the business consequences. The great American corporations, like the General Electric, the Westinghouse, the American Locomotive, and the International Harvester Company, are eager to do business in Russia. Despite all discouragements trade today is three times as great in value as before the war and many of these corporations are giving Russian trade organizations credit extending up to three years, thus showing their faith in the future of the business. Their competitors in the other great countries which have recognized Russia enjoy the services of consuls and trade representatives and all the other aid their governments can give them. If only the State Department would put on a new act, our business men think that they might enjoy some of these same advantages themselves. But after all, the play's the thing, and what is trade by comparison with considerations of a loftier and more spiritual nature?

Our readers will not have forgotten the five million dollars of wicked Russian gold sent by the Soviet Government to two great New York banks last year to help meet the Russian trade balance. They will not have forgotten the righteous indignation of our State Department which finally led to the return of this unrighteous wealth. Perhaps they do not know that the German banks then put their stamp on it, thus taking off the curse, and that in due time it came back all right. Again, the Russian state bank carries balances in American banks, and it asked those banks to honor coupons on Soviet railway bonds held here. The State Department virtuously insisted that this should not be done. So it goes. We hesitate to mention these sordid details of trade and commerce, which serve only to illustrate a few of the difficulties placed in the way of business development by our official policy. The State Department evidently has its mind on higher things, and while it continues to give as entertaining a performance as the one it is now putting on, we feel that the show is worth all it costs, particularly as most of the cost does not fall on us.

How long will the play run? We do not know, but we begin to think that it may be the "Abie's Irish Rose" of the diplomatic repertory. In fact, we are inclined to believe that long after Henry L. Stimson has ceased to be more than a name, and after the present editors of *The Nation* are moldering in the dust, the same old favorite may still be seen on the boards of the State Department playhouse. By that time its title may be "No Recognition Without Repentance."

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The Nation's Honor Roll for 1929

WE offer below the names of certain Americans who, in public service, the arts, sciences, or other fields, have distinguished themselves during the past year. This is not, of course, an inclusive list, but as it stands it forms a group of men and women who have done honor to the United States as a whole or to their particular part of it.

Public Service

The UNITED STATES SENATE, for keeping hot the fires of controversy and for insisting that the American people be continuously aware of the intricacies of government. The tariff, farm relief, the power problem, the lobbying activities of William B. Shearer and others have all been brought into the clear light of publicity because the Senate remains the one active, debating legislative body in the country.

OWEN D. YOUNG, for his work in directing the formulation of a reparations agreement—the Young plan—which aims to take the reparations issue out of politics.

SALMON O. LEVINSON, father of the idea of the outlawry of war, now embodied in the Paris peace pact and formally accepted by the great Powers of the world.

J. NEVIN SAYRE, of the Committee on Militarism in Education, for his gallant leadership in the struggle to keep militarism out of the schools.

Senator BRONSON CUTTING, for successfully attacking the censorship clauses of the tariff bill, with the resulting deletion of the provision for the censorship of obscene books and the limitation of the definition of "seditious" matter.

NORMAN THOMAS, for his intelligent, forthright, and vigorous campaign as Socialist candidate for Mayor of New York City.

ERNEST GRUENING, who, with his paper, the Portland *Evening News,* almost single-handed persuaded the voters of Maine to refuse to permit the export of hydro-electric power.

ROBERT MOSES, for his part in securing for the people of New York State one of the finest systems of public parks in the United States.

GARDNER JACKSON, courageous Boston journalist, for devoted and persistent service without pay to unpopular causes.

Journalism

The SCRIPPS-HOWARD newspapers, for general liveliness and liberalism, and particularly the New York *Telegram,* for putting itself on record as favoring a Socialist Mayor—Norman Thomas—for New York City.

The *New Yorker,* for being consistently amusing, good-tempered, intelligent, resourceful, and good-to-look-at.

Architecture

The firm of NIMMONS, CARR, AND WRIGHT of Chicago, whose work in industrial building and, more particularly, on structures in various cities built for Sears, Roebuck and Company, is a long step toward a distinctly American treatment of the problem of design.

ROBERT D. KOHN, CHARLES BUTLER, and CLARENCE S. STEIN of New York City, associated architects, for the new Temple Emanu-El on Fifth Avenue, fresh proof of American ability to build noble houses of worship.

Books

BRAND WHITLOCK, for "La Fayette," the most outstanding biography of the year.

JACOB ZEITLIN and HOMER T. WOODBRIDGE, for "The Life and Letters of Stuart P. Sherman," in which they make secure the enduring fame of an interesting and powerful American letter writer.

EVELYN SCOTT, for "The Wave," a great novel about the Civil War.

ERNEST HEMINGWAY, for telling, in "A Farewell to Arms," a tender love story in the vernacular.

HARRY T. PETERS, for recalling, in "Currier and Ives: Printmakers to the American People," a vanished but touching and impressive American age.

Drama

EVA LE GALLIENNE, for her increasingly successful direction of the Civic Repertory Theater in New York City.

ELMER RICE, for "Street Scene," a prize-winning play in which realism, satire, and melodrama are all made to contribute to great theatrical effectiveness.

PRESTON STURGES, for enlivening an otherwise dull season with "Strictly Dishonorable," a delightful trifle which approaches the ideal of pure comedy without ceasing to preserve the flavor of contemporary American life.

The NEWS REEL THEATER, for the establishment of a unique institution where one may enjoy the talkie-newspaper without waiting for the end of somebody's super-feature.

Art

The group of collectors and amateurs who have made possible the MUSEUM OF MODERN ART in New York City, which will devote itself to the display of contemporary painting and objects of art, both American and foreign.

Science

ALBERT A. MICHELSON, who, in announcing, on his seventy-seventh birthday, his retirement from his post as head of the physics department of the University of Chicago, declares that he wishes merely to have more time to continue his fifty-four years of scientific research.

HARLOW SHAPLEY, of the Harvard Observatory, for a series of lectures on astronomy in New York City which were heard with delight by large and eager audiences but which did not yield any portion of their scholarly profundity to popular taste.

WILLIAM H. WILMER, whose years of skilful, devoted, and successful service in the field of ophthalmological surgery have been recognized by the establishment of the Wilmer Ophthalmological Institute at Johns Hopkins University.

Adventure and Heroism

Rear Admiral RICHARD EVELYN BYRD and his companions for their bold flight over the South Pole.

Dr. GEORGE W. CRILE, ROBERT CHARLES, a Negro passerby, and many other unnamed persons who not only kept their heads in a panic but performed feats of the most admirable bravery and self-sacrifice during the trying hours that followed the Cleveland Clinic explosion and fire.

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It Seems to Heywood Broun

I'VE been against every move made for censoring the theater. And I'm not for curtailment now. And yet New York is in a silly situation when the frankness of the stage so far exceeds the modes and manners of the newspapers. Concerning several plays of recent vintage the reviewers have written with wariness and embarrassment. Sometimes the mere recital of the plot has been enough to cause stammering and indirection.

This, I repeat, is a silly situation. Either the stage is too licentious or the public press too squeamish. Decidedly I lean to the latter interpretation. Moreover, the radio, which begins to usurp the functions of the newspaper, is the most prudish of all. Even a simple "damn" is generally denied to those who broadcast. Now plays are done audibly before a congregation while both the radio speech and the newspaper story may be taken by the individual in discreet seclusion. Why should these mediums not be empowered to go the limit in frank talk and the stage in its co-educational capacity be limited to mild and mannered "Drat it's"? The commotion about theatrical censorship pro and con is out of all proportion. On principle I am against abridgments such as the ban recently placed by Boston against O'Neill's "Strange Interlude." But I must admit that things done for or against the theater are relatively unimportant in our national life. The drama has ceased to be a force as far as the millions are concerned.

If cutting is to be done let liberties be taken from the playwright and given to the radio man and the reporter. Save in the case of murder trials and some particularly good divorces the press in general is far too namby-pamby. I know that there is much shouting about the sensational and yellow press and the manner in which it has encouraged crime. And I am willing to admit that much is printed in the tabloids which seems to me singularly offensive to good taste. But sensationalism and yellowness do not arise from overemphasis so much as a paucity of examination. A young man murders his wife and burns the body. This is enough to send the tabloids shrieking into headlines. One of them may print (on many occasions one of them has printed) the true-signed story of the murderer. Yet the tabloids are correct in thinking that a murder story may justifiably command the interest of us all. To say, "I am not interested in such sordid things" is to say, "I am not interested in life about me." Murders are abnormal but after all abnormality is the normal magnified and brilliantly illumined. A complete study of the Snyder case would have taught us all a great deal about the problem of the American home and the factors which war against successful marriage in this country.

No paper gave anything like a comprehensive story of this fascinating case. Whenever the story approached the sex line the newspapers sheered off. Much that the reporters omitted was decidedly unpleasant and yet I am of the opinion that this kind of censorship is harmful in the long run. To be sure, morbidity may be increased by harping on certain incidents and at the same time none of us will grow wiser and kinder without a greater store of information. In my opinion the Snyder case was enormously significant. It had more educational potentialities than almost any single sociological course in college. Again, newspapers were attacked for printing so much of the testimony about the action brought by Mr. Rhinelander against his wife. You have not forgotten, I trust, that the young man sought an annulment on the ground that his wife was of Negro extraction and that she had concealed this fact from him. To say that such a story was sordid and should have been left out of news columns or mentioned only briefly is to say that the entire problem of white and Negro relations is of no moment. Here was a concrete dramatization of the question upon which scores of textbooks have been written. And I maintain that these specific illustrations of human behavior should carry more weight with the observer than mere generalizations. Had I been a managing editor I would have endeavored to print at least twice as much as my nearest competitor.

The average newspaper owner is fond of referring to his journal as a "family newspaper." Rigorously he guards readers against all sorts of things which he feels would lead them to cancel their subscriptions in protesting horror. But this same family which supposedly cannot endure even the slightest approach to frankness in print will presently put down the paper and be off to some movie house there to enjoy the pleasant ribaldry of "This Cock-Eyed World." And later they may go to a night club to watch slightly clad young women singing popular songs the lyrics of which are filled with sinful innuendo. One can be lyrical about sins which must never be mentioned by prose writers. Somebody is making suckers of us humble reporters. Possibly the papers might avoid the risk of shocking readers by putting all forthright stuff into rhyme and pretending that it was merely a quotation from a popular song.

When a man says, as I have said on many occasions, that he believes in no censorship at all he probably is not telling the truth. What he really means is that he would allow much material which is suppressed to see the light of day and balance up by curtailing other things which the community, in its ignorance, considers harmless. If Boston made me its dictator I would not think of stopping "Strange Interlude" or "A Farewell to Arms" or "An American Tragedy," but I might be gravely tempted to say, "While I am in office no newspaper will be allowed to carry Mutt and Jeff." Of course I am falling into the same heresy which afflicts other censors. I happen to think that Mutt and Jeff is bad for people.

Still it is not unreasonable to maintain that censorship pinches in the wrong places. A year or so ago I had a long argument with a newspaper owner who had refused to print anything about some rather gay divorce scandal because it seemed to him immoral. And in the paper from which the frolicsome episode was barred there ran, two columns long, a story of some singularly depraved and brutal murders by an unbalanced German. Practically none of the details was missing. In the mistaken eyes of the newspaper executive one story had to do with sex and the other didn't, which made all the difference. Somebody ought to tell editors the facts of life.

HEYWOOD BROUN

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Why Consolidate Railroads?

By DONALD R. RICHBERG

THE great mystery, concerning who wants to consolidate the railroads, may never be solved. But it is certainly not the men who run them. The practical operators of the larger, more successful railroads will generally agree that economical, efficient operation becomes more difficult as a railroad system expands beyond the effective control of a single head. According to an accepted dictum "railroading is 95 per cent human." Steam transportation service is furnished by about 1,750,000 human beings, and one manager can direct only a small percentage of these employees with maximum efficiency.

It has been my special work for many years to represent large organizations of railroad employees. Frequently I have seen the far-sighted, progressive policy of a railroad president hampered, delayed, and modified by the inherent difficulty of inducing its application by subordinate officials, too numerous and remote for control by a single mind. On the other hand, operating officials frequently have been able to modify the effects of an illiberal policy handed down from above. Like difficulties in acquiring and handling traffic are experienced by far-spread systems. The particular needs of one section of the country cannot be satisfied because of the conflicting demands of another territory served by the same railroad. Communities that seek and are entitled to the fostering care of a railroad find their interests sacrificed to meet the needs of others.

Thus, in weighing the advantages and disadvantages of consolidations of railroads, we face at the outset an ancient problem of government. How far can centralization of power be carried so as to eliminate the wastes, frictions, and inefficiencies of small competing units without producing the greater wastes, frictions, and inefficiencies of bureaucratic, remote control?

The Committee on Interstate Commerce of the Senate submitted a report on "Unification of Railroads," which was printed in the *Congressional Record* of February 25, 1929. There we read: "Everyone familiar with present-day railroad problems . . . believes that the carriers and their properties should be consolidated into a limited number of strong, efficient, and well-balanced systems capable of giving the public the service it demands at rates reasonable to the carrier, the shipper, and the public."

If this high-sounding platitude means that a few systems of large size should be organized to handle the bulk of the steam-transportation business there is no general agreement that such a result is desirable, either among railroad operators, members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, or well-informed students of railroad problems. And furthermore, there has been no program yet produced whereby such a result can be accomplished. Certainly the pending legislation approved by Senate and House committees, to encourage voluntary consolidations, will not produce the ideal announced.

The most pressing need for reorganization of rail systems is presented by the existence of a large number of weak railroads (most of them comparatively small roads) which furnish an essential service but which cannot be operated profitably at rates providing an ample, if not an excessive, profit to the larger, stronger roads. It is quite clear that a prosperous railroad will not "voluntarily" share its gains with its impoverished relations, except upon some compulsion or because there is a reasonable prospect of ultimately increasing the profits of its stockholders.

From the public standpoint the primary question to be solved in any consolidation program is this: How can provision be made to decrease the excessive profits of strong, well-located railroads which have good credit, and to increase the inadequate profits of weak, poorly located railroads which have poor credit? Of course, if all the railroads pooled their revenues so that expenses and profits could be paid from one treasury, we should have a transportation system which could be operated like the postal system, whereby losses on rural delivery may be met from the profits of urban delivery. But no such solution is possible under private ownership; and the present need is to find a way whereby private ownership and operation may be able to function effectively without making excessive charges for public service. The writer has no arguments for or against public ownership to advance in this article. The desirability of maintaining private ownership is simply assumed. The Senate report previously quoted makes the following significant statement:

> Unification offers the only means other than government ownership by which railroad units of a substantially uniform character may be created. Public regulation under present conditions is extraordinarily difficult, and its complexities are constantly increasing. If we are unable to make it more effective, efficient, and fair, public regulation may fail. And if it fails, the continuation of private ownership will become impossible.

Of course, the elimination of "weak" roads and the creation of an adequate transportation system composed only of "strong" roads is the ostensible goal of all the legislative programs now being discussed. But how is this to be accomplished merely by encouraging "voluntary" consolidations? It is plain that there must be some elements of compulsion in this "voluntary" program, or else it is a misleading proposal designed for some other purpose than to benefit the public. The bills now recommended to the attention of Congress may be summarized as providing the means whereby railroads may be consolidated when they so desire. They provide no means whereby railroads may be compelled to consolidate. There is no positive provision for exerting public pressure to produce consolidations in the public interest. The public protection authorized is wholly negative—the prevention of consolidations which the Interstate Commerce Commission holds to be contrary to the public interest. Just what force is to induce railroads to consolidate so as to reduce the existing profits of the prosperous roads has not been explained. Certainly a zeal for public service cannot be regarded as an inducement to stockholders to reduce their profits and to diminish the market values of their

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stocks. Under proposed laws the commission will not even be required to find that a consolidation will produce any certain or defined public benefits. Apparently the commission is expected to assume that consolidations are desirable and will "promote the public interest," unless a public detriment greater than any possible public benefit is evident. The political intent to give railroad owners what they want—rather than to compel them to give the public what it wants—is quite visible. And since the Senate and House bills are largely the product of railroad lawyers, it is not strange that private interests are carefully protected and public interests receive little attention in their provisions. The ancient slogan, "Give us more cake and you'll get more crumbs," seems to have controlled the drafting of these bills.

It would be impossible in less than a volume to analyze the effect and purpose of the numerous complicated provisions of the "official" consolidation bills (sponsored by Senator Fess and Representative Parker). It is far simpler to point out what they do *not* provide for protection of the public interest (which is very important), rather than what they *do* provide (which is relatively unimportant).

1. The bills do *not* provide that consolidations shall be permitted only when in conformity with a comprehensive plan prepared by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Thus they do *not* assure ultimate absorption of all weak roads into strong systems. But unless railroad consolidations are required to fit into such a plan, a continuation of present expansions, primarily for profit and secondarily for service, is inevitable.

Nine years ago the commission was directed by Congress to prepare a comprehensive plan; but many obstacles have delayed its production, including (1) inherent difficulties, (2) disinclination and disagreement inside the commission, and (3) railroad opposition. Now it is proposed that any plan approved by the commission shall be only advisory to the railroads and to the commission, so that consolidations inconsistent with the plan may be approved until the plan itself is eventually discarded. It would be optimistic indeed to assume that railroad consolidations for private profit would bear any close resemblance to consolidations for public service.

2. The bills do *not* provide any assurance of more effective rate regulation, or any prospect of lower rates. In the first place, there is little sincere belief found anywhere that any economies sufficient to warrant reduced rates will result from consolidations. The main argument of the consolidators is that better, not cheaper, service will be provided. In the second place, no effort is made to establish a stable rate basis for roads, whereby the present demand for speculative profits based on fluctuating "values" might be eliminated. Therefore, under prevailing doctrines, it is probable that the consolidated properties will claim greater values as the basis for rates than the sum of the present separate property values. Higher rates are more likely to result from consolidations than lower rates. The reasons for this conclusion are many, but they arise from a long and intimate study of the methods whereby many great railroad systems are permitted today to gather profits of 10 to 20 per cent in the public-service field where a generation ago a 6 per cent profit was regarded as a bounteous harvest.

3. The bills do *not* provide for any more effective control over service and profits than the Interstate Commerce Commission can exercise today. Yet if still greater power is to be given to private persons to serve and to exploit public needs, there should be a corresponding increase in the power of public officials to protect public interests. One of the greatest forces of public protection today is found in the divergent counsels of competing railroads. Consolidation legislation has been delayed up to date, not so much because of opposition from an apathetic public as because of conflicts of opinion between railroad managements.

In concluding this brief survey of the present situation, attention should be drawn to the questions which should be answered before legislation is approved.

First, if the Interstate Commerce Commission presents a comprehensive plan for future railroad consolidations, will its ultimate adoption mean the absorption of all weak railroads which furnish a necessary service into strong systems capable of giving an improved service at rates which will not produce excessive profits upon actual private investments?

Second, will this publicly devised program be made the basis of preventing consolidations which do not conform to this program and the basis of compelling the consolidations recommended, by either direct or indirect pressure of public authority?

Third, will consolidated railroads be required to submit to a practical exercise of rate-regulating powers whereby, in return for increased security of investment and assurance of a fair return thereon, private owners will surrender their present claims to those speculative profits which are inconsistent with the obligations of public service? Under present laws such profits are being made. New legislation should not be enacted which will provide the basis for any further exploitation of public necessity for excessive private profit.

There is a large fraction of the public, consisting of 1,750,000 railroad employees and their dependents, who have a special interest in consolidation legislation, to which I have made no reference. These employees have found that their working conditions are changed, their homes are moved, their privileges and savings acquired by years of labor are wiped out in the rearrangement of work, the moving of terminals and division points, and the changes of management which follow upon railroad consolidations and reorganization. They have not opposed progress and improvement, but they have urged that the benefits should not flow entirely to security owners, that the public also should gain, and that the losses of the employees should be reduced as far as possible.

Finally, without criticizing railroad representatives for drafting consolidation legislation, so as to permit the maximum freedom of private judgment and the minimum restraint of public authority, it seems clear to me that the protection of public interests calls for an entirely different treatment of this problem. No consolidation measure now before Congress, which has any prospect of passage in the near future, merits the approval of an impartial public servant. Such a one may believe that little harm and some good may come out of giving the roads a free hand. But, if well informed, he must also know that the present laws for regulating railroads are a composite of proved wisdom and demonstrated folly which should be drastically revised before we proceed to complicate existing problems and to increase the difficulty of their eventual necessary solution by authorizing new combinations of anti-public forces.

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Prosperity—Believe It or Not

VII—Balancing the Books*

By STUART CHASE

WE have, let us say, an onion. The onion represents the total economic life of the United States. The heart of the onion is prosperity. How large does it bulk?

First, we must strip off all the States not included in the Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and Pacific States. The National Bureau of Economic Research finds that by and large they have not prospered. Second, in the prosperous belt, we strip off most of the farmers; they have not prospered. Third, we strip off a large section of the middle class. The small business man, the independent storekeeper, the wholesaler, many professional men and women, have failed to keep income on a par with the new standard of living. Fourth, we strip off the unemployed. Machinery seems to be displacing factory, railroad, and mining workers —and of late mergers are displacing executives, salesmen, and clerks—faster than they can find employment in other fields. The net increase in "technological unemployment" since 1922 is at least 650,000 men and women. Fifth, we strip off the coal industry, which has been in the doldrums throughout the period. Sixth, we strip off the textile industry, which has been seriously depressed. Seventh, the boot-and-shoe industry; ditto. Eighth, the leather industry. Ninth, the shipbuilding industry. Tenth, the railroad-equipment industry. Eleventh, we strip off the excessive number of businesses which have gone bankrupt during the era. Twelfth, we strip off those millions of unskilled workers who were teetering on the edge of a bare subsistence in 1922, and by no stretch of the imagination can be called prosperous today. The best that can be said is that their position is a little less precarious than it was. In short, only a part of the country has been prosperous during the past eight years and even in that part there are at least twelve soft spots.

What then remains? A good deal. This categorical stripping process is justified, but we must be careful not to let it destroy our perspective. All through the preceding articles we have noted item after item which reflected, according to the definition of prosperity employed, some genuine advance. Should we list them one after another, an impressive exhibit on the other side of the fence would confront us. And here I should like to be permitted a philosophical aside. The human mind is a clumsy and impetuous instrument. Nor is it fond of hard work. Most people find two, or at the outside, three supporting cases sufficient for a generalization. Thus, if we note two Rolls Royces parked on Main Street, we say, "This place is full of millionaires." When I show, one after the other, no fewer than twelve dissents from the view that America is prosperous, the conclusion is almost irresistible that "Prosperity is a myth."

The onion has shrunk, but it has not disappeared. Among the most significant of the surviving layers are:

(1) A 20 per cent increase in the national income per capita from 1922 to 1928; (2) a 30 per cent increase in physical production; (3) a 100 per cent increase in the profits of the larger corporations; (4) a housing program expanding faster than population; (5) an increase in average health and longevity; (6) an increase in educational facilities greatly surpassing the growth of population; (7) a per capita increase in savings and insurance; (8) a five-hour decline in the average working week; (9) a slowly rising wage scale against a fairly stationary price level; (10) an increasingly fecund, alert, and courageous science of management, resulting primarily in an ever-growing productivity per worker.

The trouble with nearly every item on this second list is that while it indicates that we are more prosperous than we were, nothing whatever is said about the degree of prosperity from which we started. The base line is missing. If we were barely comfortable in 1922, we ought to be reasonably comfortable now. But of course the fact is that some 80 per cent of all American families lived below the budget of health and decency in 1922, and the 20 per cent increase in per capita income since that date, while it has helped, to be sure, still leaves probably two-thirds of all families below the line.* Unfortunately, too, the 20 per cent cannot all go into intrinsically better food, housing, and clothing, but must be applied to appease the clamoring salesmen of the new standard of living with their motor cars, radios, tootsie-rolls, silk stockings, talking pictures, and beauty shoppes. In this connection another important qualification should not be overlooked. We have seen in the foregoing articles how Middletown, and with it the whole nation, has been shifting year by year to a pecuniary economy. Money has become the *sine qua non* of existence. In pioneering days a hard-working family could provide for itself literally without money from one year's end to the next. Increasingly now we get our income in dollars rather than in the provisioning of our own homes by means of truck gardens, house building and repairing, "handy" work of all kinds. I am sure that a fraction of the 20 per cent is accounted for by the steady shift to a dollar economy.

We have added a little real income and considerable fluff to the totally inadequate distribution of goods and services obtaining in 1922. Is this prosperity in the deeper sense? No. The most that can be said is that the past eight years have registered a rate of advance in the direction of a prosperity which may some day be achieved. If you ask me to guess, I would say that if the next seven years are as good as the last, and the next seven again, and the next—by 1950 the United States of America will have doubled its per capita income as compared with 1922. With the usual important exceptions for persons and classes, the bulk of the population

* This is the seventh and last of a series of articles on American prosperity by Stuart Chase.—EDITOR THE NATION.

* The National Bureau of Economic Research estimated, for 1918, that 85.9 per cent of all gainfully employed in the country received less than $2,000 a year; 72 per cent got less than $1,500. There was little gain between 1918 and 1922.

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will be receiving not less than $4,000 a year per family, and will so be, if not extravagantly upholstered, at least reasonably prosperous. This would mean twenty-eight years of upward curves. The longest period of business prosperity so far in the history of the republic is fourteen years, from 1879 to 1893. Can the going economic system, with its lack of coordinated control, hold the pace for a full generation and then peg it at the top? I profoundly doubt it.

You will remember that in the first article we gave four definitions of prosperity: (1) as evidenced by the usual business barometers; (2) as evidenced by a greater flow of goods and services; (3) as evidenced by economic security and peace of mind; (4) as evidenced by the "life more abundant" —comprehending material welfare, security, and the upbuilding of a genuinely noble civilization. Measuring our findings against these definitions, we may conclude:

Definition one: Business prosperity is—up to October, 1929, at least—a provable fact. The national totals for corporate profits, new capital seeking investment, bank clearings, life-insurance totals, foreign trade, leave no doubt on this score. It has been spotty, however, with lags and set-backs here and there throughout the structure. A crude generalization might be made to the effect that industries catering to the new standard of living have prospered at the expense of industries providing the old-line staples.

Definition two: Prosperity from the commercial standpoint has never meant much to the rank and file. In the course of the four earlier periods, labor had benefited for the moment in steadier employment and sometimes in an enhanced wage scale, but with the concluding panic, everything returned to the *status quo*—the same old tenements, the same old shacks, the same wet babies in the kitchen, the same old bread line. As retail prices usually went up, even the flow of goods was not markedly augmented. The fifth period has a somewhat different story. Since 1922 wages have increased, prices have remained stationary (by and large), and the flow of goods and services has been augmented. While population has gained 12 per cent, the tonnage of physical production has increased 30 per cent. Unfortunately for the argument, this is not all consumers' goods. A very large fraction represents an increase in producers' or capital goods. Factories, office buildings, Diesel engines, turret lathes, power houses—these are all admirable things, but they fill no hungry stomachs, *for the moment.* I doubt if the wayfaring man has received as much in tangible consumable goods as the bulk productivity figures indicate. But he has certainly received some increase. Above all he has received new sorts and varieties of goods, sacrificing, at the same time, housing space, bulky foodstuffs, textile yardage. He has received the motor car for which his spirit yearned, for which he was willing to cut down on food and clothing if need be, and which incidentally did more than any other one factor to keep business prosperity swinging upward. With all due allowances, I should conclude that the second definition of prosperity has been met, obliquely if not squarely.

Definition three: Now as to prosperity measured in terms of economic security and peace of mind. Unemployment has been rampant and, according to the careful calculations of Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell, increasing throughout the period. We are probably entering, for the first time in industrial history, an era of "technological unemployment," in which, owing to the encroachments of the machine, the total firing rate is to exceed the total hiring rate. A more destructive agent for security and peace of mind it is difficult to imagine. With their land values in ruins the farmers have not passed their nights in dreamless slumber. They have been seeing werewolves for a decade. The middle class, as we have repeatedly noted, is trying to make a slightly expanded dollar meet a greatly expanded budget of wants—and with no very signal success. Industrial strains and stress in the factory, as we have seen, are probably not increasing, but the pace of living is accelerating. As it whirls faster and faster, it brings no discernible peace of mind. No. The third definition we cannot grant. Prosperity in terms of tranquillity and genuine leisure has not arrived for most of us.

Definition four: "Where wealth accumulates and men decay." A very imposing battery of critics and philosophers have taken this line as their text in viewing contemporary American civilization. Sinclair Lewis, H. L. Mencken, Eugene O'Neill, Ring Lardner, James Truslow Adams, not to mention the learned Oswald Spengler, are among those who seem to incline to the belief that as the spiral of commercial prosperity whirls upward, the spiral of the good life whirls downward. Prosperity in terms of a whole civilization—the fourth and last definition—can hardly be said to have spread its wings over the America of 1929. But I see no evidence of a net decay either in men or in their arts and accomplishments. Babies live longer, sickness declines, the whole race is improving biologically. Ah, but the mind, the creative instinct, the precious spiritual values! Having no degree in metaphysics, I know nothing about the inwardness of such ghostly matters. But we all have eyes and ears and, with a little training, can tell whether buildings are finer, pictures richer, plays more stimulating, poems grander, novels more compelling; whether criticism is more acute, statesmanship more intelligent, manners better than a decade ago—in brief, whether our commercial prosperity follows signboards marked: To Periclean Athens, To Augustan Rome, To the Florence of the Medicis; or per contra, To Bedlam or Bust.

Personally I favor the marker: No Speed Limit on This Highway, supplemented with: Dangerous Curves. American civilization was relatively crazy in 1920, and shows no signs of being less crazy today. It does show enormous and, I suspect, increasing vitality. Architecture in the skyscraper is searching for a new art form, in its way as thrilling as the temples of Ankor. It is impossible to take two steps on the streets of New York without colliding with either (a) a novelist, (b) a painter, (c) a playwright, or (d) a designer of fabrics, metal light fixtures, cock-eyed office furniture. A whole new age of decoration is breaking out in interior furnishings, office equipment, lavender bath-tubs, and even rose-colored oil heaters. The scene is at once ludicrous, arresting, inspiring, and always genuinely stimulating. There is just a chance that America might whirl itself into the most breath-taking civilization which history has yet to record. But to date the chief exhibit is activity. By all odds the noblest aspect of our civilization is found in our engineering works.

Prosperity as a rate of advance. Here if anywhere lies the real achievement of these eight years. In industrial management, the central fire of that advance, we find the most dramatic and significant aspect of the whole complicated story. It is management, furthermore, which has built these turbines, dams, and power lines, released these birds of steel to wing across the sky. Even the skyscraper is more the

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product of the engineer than of the architect. Steadily the output per worker rises in the well-managed factories, railroads, mines. Steadily the cost of production falls. Ever more exciting grow the machines and instruments which raise output, lower costs, increase control. Here is a press like a rearing brontosaurus thirty feet in height, just installed by the Olds Motor Company. It exerts a pressure of one million pounds. A piece of raw steel is fed to it. Crunch! Out comes a finished fender. Similarly, ever more intelligent grow the psychological contacts with the worker—a factor utterly overlooked in the Taylor systems of twenty years ago. His curve of fatigue is plotted, his adaptability to a given job is measured, his accident rate is brought down, his hours of labor are reduced, his wages are increased according to the doctrine of the economy of high wages, his leisure is respected and not corrupted by the company uplift schemes so dear to the heart of the Big Boss. I assure you that this bright picture is not general throughout American industry, but it does represent the performance toward which such plants as that of Henry Dennison in Massachusetts are striving. The spearhead of the whole movement is probably found in those establishments—such as Hart Schaffner & Marx, or the equipment shops of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—where a strong and intelligent labor union cooperates, thus becoming an integral part of management.

A beautiful technique—the crowning achievement of prosperity. Given a free hand it might remake American industry, humanly as well as technically. It might abolish poverty, immeasurably diminish the stresses and strains which have dogged every step of the industrial revolution since the days of Watt, flood the nation with essential and even beautiful goods at a fraction of their present cost, raise the curse of Adam, and lay the basis for, if not positively usher in, one of the noblest civilizations which the world has ever seen. But the hands of management are not free. The technician is constantly undone by the sales department, which, floundering in a pecuniary economy, sees no other way—and indeed there is no other way—to maintain capacity than by style changes, annual models, advertising misrepresentation, and high-pressure merchandising. He is undone by the vested interests of the owners who demand their pound of flesh in rent, interest, and dividends *now,* with no thought for the rounded perfection of engineering principles and the time that they—and nature which sanctions them—demand. Above all the technician needs a national system of supermanagement, whereby production might be articulated to consumptive needs, and the fabulous wastes of excess plants, excess machines, excess overhead costs, uneconomically located industries, cross hauling, jam, tangle, and bottlenecks, be brought under rational control. That such super-management is not beyond human capacity to operate, the experience of the Supreme Economic Council during the war, and of the Russian Gosplan today, amply demonstrates. Prosperity in any deeper sense awaits the liberation of the engineer. If the owners will not get off his back (and why should they? They pay him little enough and he fills their safe deposit boxes) I, for one, would not be sorry to see him combine with the wayfaring man to lift them off. A complicated technical structure should be run by engineers, not by hucksters.

Raising Cane in Washington

By ARTHUR WARNER

Washington, December 23

THE American sugar interests in Cuba have been raising more cane in Washington this winter than in the Caribbean. For several weeks the newspapers have been filled with the doings of the lobby which has been trying to prevent a high import duty on sugar in the new tariff bill in order to keep the market open for the Cuban product. It has come out that in this effort the lobby employed a personal friend of President Hoover and succeeded in winning the President's sympathy if not his definite assistance in behalf of Cuban-grown sugar. Meanwhile Cuban growers of sugar, as distinguished from American growers of Cuban sugar, engaged the persuasive powers of General Enoch H. Crowder, retired, formerly our ambassador at Havana and, during the World War, in charge of the military draft in the United States. The Senate Judiciary Committee's sub-committee, which was appointed to investigate Congressional lobbying in consequence of the late lamented and already practically forgotten Shearer scandal, has lost all track of ships in its pursuit of the long, sweet trail of sugar.

Thus within less than ten months of his inauguration Mr. Hoover stands accused of improprieties of a sort which led the Democratic floor leader of the House, Representative Garner of Texas, to say on December 20 that the President ought to give the country "a direct, definite, and positive declaration" in regard to his relations with the Cuban sugar lobby. "Mr. Shattuck's denial that he had discussed sugar legislation with the President by no means disposes of the matter," continued Representative Garner. "There are definite statements in the letters of the sugar lobbyists that imply the absolute contrary." As for General Crowder, he is said to have betrayed military secrets—and to benighted foreigners at that—in giving it away that in case of war the general staff had decided not to try to keep a traffic lane open between the United States and the Philippines.

The sweet story of how growers of cane sugar in Cuba tried to safeguard their product against the machinations of American beet-sugar raisers in the drawing of the new tariff bill first began to reach the public when, on December 10, the Senate sub-committee called before it as a witness H. C. Lakin of New York City, president of the Cuba Company. Mr. Lakin said that the president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Havana had informed him that the Cuban government had suggested that somebody be found to represent it in connection with the sugar schedule in the new tariff bill. Mr. Lakin consented to act in that capacity, he said, and considered himself a representative of the Cuban government. Mr.

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Lakin organized a campaign in behalf of Americans with sugar interests in Cuba. He told the Senate sub-committee that General Crowder had begun work, he thought in December, 1928, at the direct request of President Machado of Cuba. General Crowder was paid by a group of Cuban sugar-mill owners, whereas Mr. Lakin's campaign was financed in the United States. On January 29, 1929, Mr. Lakin wrote to General Crowder:

> I am already making some progress toward further efforts in Washington. By great good fortune I find that Shattuck, who wrote the brief with me [prepared earlier for the Ways and Means Committee] is perhaps Hoover's closest legal friend.
>
> He is the personal attorney for Hoover and all his family. I think I have persuaded him to undertake a confidential mission, first to convince Hoover, and secondly to work on the committees and members of Congress on behalf of Cuba, and I believe that I can induce several of the larger producers here to undertake to bear the expense. When I have made a little more progress in this connection I will communicate with you again. I am sure that I shall need your advice and cooperation.

The full name of the gentleman who was to undertake the "confidential mission" alluded to was Edwin P. Shattuck, a lawyer of New York City, who for some years had represented American sugar interests in Cuba. Mr. Shattuck had a home in Miami and he was there during the visit of Mr. Hoover to that resort previous to his inauguration. In a statement to the press Mr. Shattuck has made the following remarks concerning his "confidential mission":

> Before the new Administration came in I informed Mr. Hoover of my connections, not to obtain his approval of an important legal engagement, but to inform him what my connection was so that there would be no misunderstanding. The President did not feel that he had any right to ask me to abandon my clients and that matter ended.

While Mr. Shattuck was in Miami, Mr. Lakin said in a letter that the lawyer had seen Mr. Hoover "in the last ten days." As good luck would have it, Mr. Shattuck was a personal friend of Senator Smoot, too. "It seemed well to employ a man who knew him," wrote Mr. Lakin, and during the Utah Senator's visit to Miami Mr. Shattuck talked with Mr. Smoot—may one guess of sugar?

Mr. Hoover has said that the competitive system of industry is the most beneficent ever devised by man. But, of course, he does not actually believe it—at least not for his own crowd. Competition is splendid among workingmen; it keeps wages down. But in the realm of big business—sakes alive, no. The less competition there the better, as every up-to-date, big-business man—including Mr. Hoover—knows. Naturally, therefore, Mr. Hoover asked Senator Smoot, according to the Lakin version, if he and Mr. Shattuck couldn't devise a plan whereby domestic sugar could be protected without hurting the Cuban product. "President Hoover has taken a direct hand," Mr. Lakin wrote on March 15, 1929, to W. A. Chadbourne. "He has already suggested a possible solution to Senator Smoot and to Mr. Shattuck." The cane and the beet-sugar interests did not want to cut one another's throats any more than Mr. Hoover wanted to have them, as is evident from Mr. Lakin's further comment: "Smoot has already conferred with the beet people, among whom we have some representatives through whom we keep posted as to what is going on. I do not dare to write more."

The most enlightening details in regard to the procedure of the sugar lobby are contained in the correspondence of Mr. Lakin as dug up by the Senate sub-committee. For instance, there is a letter in regard to stirring up opinion in Latin American countries, of which Mr. Lakin admitted on the stand he was ashamed. It was written on March 5, 1929, to Rafael Sanchez Aballi, Secretary of Communications of Cuba. It ran in part:

> According to my views, one of our most important arguments is that other Latin American countries will claim that if Cuba's close relations to the United States result in damage to Cuba, they had better fight shy of having a similar thing happen to them. Therefore, it seems to me that it would be a good thing to call the situation to the attention of the appropriate persons in other Latin American countries. . . .
>
> My suggestion would be for you to have our brief and supplemental brief translated into Spanish and printed; and that copies be sent by the association to all congressmen, governors, and mayors of Cuba, and to the leading economic associations and the newspapers. Suggestions could be made to the newspaper editors to circulate the brief among their newspaper correspondents in other Latin American countries. . . .
>
> Thus far only one company which I have approached has failed to contribute. Mr. Shattuck tells me that he was anxious to have some Cuban contributions, but I think that for the present it is better to leave the responsibility to the American companies, especially as the members of Congress are very sensitive about any foreign interference with what they regard as a purely national matter.

There was also a letter to Señor Aballi suggesting that "it might really be a good thing if a committee of Cuban Masons should go quietly and without any publicity whatever to members of Congress who are Masons." Mr. Lakin thought still better of a letter sent by Cuban Rotarians to all Rotary clubs in the United States. "This letter is likely to have more influence than the undertaking of the Masons," concluded Mr. Lakin, "because the Rotary clubs are formed on the basis of economics instead of fraternal relations." In a letter to J. M. Tarafa of Cuba Mr. Lakin said:

> I have raised a fund of over $85,000 to conduct the fight. Some of the money will be used for publicity and some for employing people who have a certain amount of influence in Washington. Our chief reliance will be on Mr. Shattuck, who is a very intimate friend of Hoover, and has already talked with Hoover about this subject.

Referring to Senator Smoot, Mr. Lakin said that he

> was very emphatic in stating that the Philippines are the most dangerous competitors of the United States producers. He had many facts and figures which he supplied to me and urged me to advertise as widely as possible the desirability of limiting the Philippines to 500,000 tons. He stated very, very specifically that he proposed to make a big fight on that point. Of course, at that time it was not thought that Stimson was to be Secretary of State.

A most revealing letter was written by Mr. Lakin on March 4, 1929, to the secretary of President Machado of Cuba. The secretary, expressing, of course, the ideas of his chief, had suggested a commission to go before Congress. Mr. Lakin agreed and named George A. Zabriskie, presi-

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dent of the United States Sugar Association, Mr. Shattuck, and himself. Of this stalwart trio he wrote that they were "as near to President Hoover as you are to President Machado." Mr. Lakin described a plan in regard to sugar to be presented to the Senate and then went on to say:

> With members of the House of Representatives we are not suggesting any formal plan whatsoever. We are attempting to create an atmosphere of doubt in the minds of Congressmen in order that their recommendation shall be either a reduction in the duty or leaving the duty at its present rate or making any increase as small as possible. There are political reasons for this plan which I cannot appropriately put into a letter.

The letter said further:

> The plan is an attempt to put in particular form some general principles with which we know President Hoover is in sympathy. Our knowledge of the desire of President Hoover is accurate but naturally the sources of our knowledge should not be stated in writing. This particular matter of a plan for helping both the beets and Cuba is strictly one we must leave to Mr. Shattuck's discretion. . . .
>
> It is the custom of the beet interests to maintain a lobby in Washington. I think that eventually the Cuban interests should have a permanent office in Washington, but the fact that Cuba is a foreign country makes the old-fashioned lobbying dangerous for it to undertake.
>
> I do not approve of unguided entertainment of members of Congress. That form of lobbying is no longer fashionable in Washington.

That Mr. Lakin was in cordial cooperation with President Machado is evident from a long letter from the latter in which Mr. Lakin is praised for his efforts and the Cuban executive says in effect: "On with the dance."

Mr. Lakin's most specific reference to the way in which President Hoover helped the sugar lobby is contained in a letter written on April 16, 1929, to Mason B. Starring. Mr. Lakin said that he was informed that a majority of the Ways and Means Committee was opposed to an increase in the sugar tariff and he thought that three of them who were in favor of higher duties—Representatives Bacharach of New Jersey and Watson and Estep of Pennsylvania—"might be induced to change their votes."

> Several members of the committee have appealed to President Hoover and he has instructed his secretary, Mr. Newton, to establish a contact between the committee and ourselves [the letter continued]. I understand that some suggestion of this came from the individual members of the committee.

When Mr. Shattuck himself was called before the Senate sub-committee he denied the accuracy of some of Mr. Lakin's statements, but his answers to questions were not always direct and he failed to shake the general impression left by previous testimony except to emphasize the natural probability that Mr. Lakin had exaggerated certain aspects and had misunderstood others.

"Is there any testimony in the record about your relationship with Mr. Hoover that is untrue?" Senator Blaine asked.

"No, but I think a great many statements have been permitted from which improper inferences have been drawn," replied Mr. Shattuck. "I have never discussed the sugar tariff with Mr. Hoover," Mr. Shattuck continued. "I have discussed the sliding scale with Mr. Newton, Mr. Smoot, and others." And then Mr. Shattuck added: "Some people might think what Mr. Newton said was the same as what the President said." Indeed they might—not unreasonably.

The lobbying activities of General Crowder in behalf of Cuban sugar growers had not been revealed directly up to the Christmas recess of Congress, but the correspondence of Mr. Lakin throws enough light on them to put the former army officer in an unhappy position. Mr. Lakin was a business man, having at least the excuse of his company's interests to justify his lobbying. But that a retired army officer of high rank should have resorted to so shabby a method of turning an extra penny as did General Crowder can be a source of little pride to any American. In a letter to the secretary of President Machado of Cuba, dated March 15, 1929, Mr. Lakin spoke of General Crowder's doings as follows:

> General Crowder, at my request, has agreed to remain in Washington for two or three months. Of course, you know that his position in Washington is one of the highest.
>
> He is received everywhere. He has prepared a strong argument on the Philippines matter. He had a translation made, which the Ambassador has sent to President Machado. I hope you will see that memorandum and discuss it with President Machado, and as a special favor to me, I wish you would ask President Machado to write a personal letter to Crowder congratulating him on the memorandum and thanking him for agreeing to devote himself to the Cuban cause in Washington and explaining to Crowder the President's belief that Crowder will be of great advantage to Cuba in this matter.

To which Mr. Lakin added this delicious—if not malicious—morsel: "Of course, you know Crowder, and a little praise of this sort will do a lot of good and make him enthusiastic."

That General Crowder's lobbying was not lacking in finesse is evident from a note which he wrote to Mr. Lakin saying: "I discussed with Mr. Shattuck the opportune time to see Smoot and contribute what he could toward perfecting sliding tariff, but always with the idea of making Smoot father the proposition in the name of beet sugar, as a means of giving it added strength."

The principal ground upon which General Crowder has been criticized appears in a letter from Mr. Lakin to Mr. C. Rionda, in which mention is made of a suggestion of Mr. Rionda that the Secretaries of War and the Navy be approached in regard to the limitation of sugar importations from the Philippines. Mr. Lakin wrote: "General Crowder has written a fine memorandum on this subject. He has also learned that the plans of the general staff provide that in case of war any attempt to keep a traffic lane open between the Philippines and the United States would be promptly abandoned." When Mr. Lakin was examined by the Senate sub-committee in regard to this statement about General Crowder, Senator Caraway asked: "Was he getting the plans of the army and giving them to you in the tariff fight?" "Yes," was the reply. "That ought to be very interesting," Senator Caraway observed.

Political scandals are no treat to Washington and not much of a tidbit for any other section of the country. The chief novelty of the revelations in regard to the sugar lobby lies, of course, in President Hoover's relations to what has been going on. It is the first time since he took office as

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President that he has met criticism of this kind. There is some doubt as to how deeply and in what way he is involved, but granting all that has been said at its full value there will be many who will honestly defend the President as acting within the proprieties. An unbiased discussion of the issue would be worth while, but that the country will not get, as the question has been taken up as a partisan one. Representative Garner's call for a statement of facts from the President—a legitimate demand—was followed at once by a broadside from Representative Wood of Indiana, chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee. Even admitting all that had been charged, said Mr. Wood, for the President "to give audience to men who are also representatives of industry or commerce does not constitute a plot, nor is a conversation between the two a connivance."

But aside from Mr. Hoover's relation to it, the Cuban sugar lobby is instructive as an illustration of the way in which industry and politics work together in our system of government to accomplish the common end that business may go on as usual and that politicians may continue in office. Throughout the entire discussion, including the part that Mr. Hoover is said to have taken, there was no hint of the public welfare in the connection with the sugar schedule of the tariff. It was entirely a question of reconciling two business groups so that each could go on making as much money as possible. In justice to Mr. Lakin, though, it should be said that he seems more than a little crestfallen —in retrospect—at the path he has followed.

"Do you think it proper to hire people, because they have the confidence of the President, to influence legislation?" Senator Caraway asked Mr. Lakin in the course of the latter's testimony. "I don't think it should be done at all by anybody," was the reply. Then he added that in the circumstances there were special reasons to justify such action. There always are.

In the Driftway

A DESIRE for less noise seems to be creeping over the country at such an encouraging rate that the Drifter dares to hope that, if he lives out the century, racket may be generally recognized for what it is—a pest as deadly as bad sewage or impure drinking water. New York City has appointed a commission to study noises scientifically and find out which are most objectionable. Meanwhile, the city of Washington has been getting at the same end more expeditiously, and probably just as accurately, by means of a popular referendum conducted by one of the newspapers. The Washington *Post* has been printing ballots and inviting its readers to fill them out so as to indicate the most hated noises. According to a recent tabulation, the most hated noise was loudspeakers in homes, against which 171 votes were recorded. Next in order were automobile horns, 140 votes; barking dogs, 110 votes; motor trucks, 90 votes; ambulance sirens, 84 votes; and noisy brakes on automobiles, 80 votes. It is worth remarking that, of the six noises most objected to, four—loudspeakers in homes, automobile horns, barking dogs, and noisy brakes on automobiles—might be abolished entirely, or at least drastically restricted, without any real inconvenience or hardship to the community at large. Loudspeakers could certainly be much reduced in intensity without destroying their value. Although automobile horns have some point on country roads, it would be well to forbid the blowing of them in city streets. Such action would compel drivers to be more careful of one another and remind them that it is their legal duty to look out for the pedestrian instead of the other way about. Noisy parties were listed seventh in the *Post's* vote and jazz bands ninth. Curiously enough, pneumatic drills and riveting, which in New York would certainly stand high in the list of abhorred noises, rank eleventh and twelfth, respectively, in Washington. Six ballots were cast against cats as the worst noise, five against roosters, four against whistlers, and one each against pigeons, alarm clocks, snoring neighbors, and scissors-grinders. Four persons said the worst noise in Washington was Congress.

* * * * *

THE note in this column the other day in regard to a visitor, presumably an Englishman, who complained that he couldn't get a satisfactory cup of tea in New York City has brought a communication beginning "To the Drifter, Sir (or Madam)." The correspondent explains this salutation by saying that she and another "Lady-addict of *The Nation*" have speculated about the sex of the Drifter, because they have "detected traces of feminine tricks of observation and turns of phrase—or thought we did." "And please don't satisfy our curiosity!" the correspondent adds. "Think of the fun your readers would miss if they knew all! It sounds so superior to say: 'One could swear this was written by a woman,' when one doesn't have to furnish proof but just make conversation." After this introduction the correspondent goes at the subject of tea, remarking:

> And while I'm at it, I'd like to mention another atrocity committed on lemon from the point of view of my Russian origin. In the few places where lemon is served properly it is sometimes stripped of the skin. Now that is sacrilege—and ignorance. The average Russian likes the lemon for the aroma of the skin, released by the hot water, usually, rather than for its acid juice. Remove the skin, and the lemon just doesn't belong.
>
> And you know probably that Russians have a glass of tea, not your English cup, or Irish dish. A glass of tea—thin glass—with a delicate slice of lemon floating on top, not mauled, squeezed, and helpless at the bottom, looks quite attractive, and tastes grand. There is no danger of breaking the glass if the hot water is poured against the spoon rather than the glass itself. Needless to say the spoon is removable.
>
> Your Englishman might try not only Chinese restaurants, but also some of the Russian restaurants on lower Second Avenue, if he doesn't mind the glasses.

* * * * *

IN regard to the failure to serve enough—or any—hot water with tea in American restaurants, the Drifter's correspondent remarks that once in a so-called tea room on Broadway, after obtaining with great difficulty a pot of hot water, she was charged five cents extra for it! The letter concludes with the soothing comment: "And your column is swell, even if you have no occasion to quote this particular anonymous contrib." After reading that, any bounder who failed to use the letter would prove that he (or she) was not a lady—and certainly no gentleman.

THE DRIFTER

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Palestine and the Jews

The Case Against Dr. Magnes

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I regret to say that your recent reference to the statement of the American Jewish Congress on the subject of Dr. Magnes's utterances and overtures to the Arabs in Palestine is very much out of accord with the feelings of the membership of Jewish organizations and Jews generally.

In connection with the recent lamentable events in Palestine a few simple considerations should be obvious.

1. The Arabs were the offenders and therefore should have been the first to make proposals of peace.

2. The official investigation to fix the blame for the outrages was going on and in accordance with all rules of such procedures, negotiations and the expression of radical opinions should have been withheld until the hearing was concluded.

3. There are responsible Jewish organizations associated with the aspirations of our people in Palestine. Dr. Magnes, if he was not in too great a hurry to create a sensation, could have waited or submitted all and every one of his plans to Dr. Weizmann of the Zionist organization, or to Lord Melchett and Mr. Warburg of the Jewish Agency.

4. Dr. Magnes is the Chancellor of the Hebrew University, which at least should preserve its neutrality in a time of crisis; and it is not fitting that any officer of that institution should at any time usurp the authority of ranking organizations.

5. A tremendous responsibility is incurred by any individual who suggests in one form or another that a basic official document, like the Balfour Declaration, which to the millions of scattered Israel marked a new era in Jewish life, should be reinterpreted or modified, or made a subject of hasty and ill-considered discussion.

6. A pronouncement, made with an air of novelty, about the equal rights of the three great religions in Palestine inevitably left the unfortunate inference that the Jews had not on many previous occasions recognized and solemnly declared themselves in favor of these rights.

These were the chief points, as logical as they are clear, of the statement which you condemn. The issues involved being far more important than any individual, the conclusion can only be that on this occasion, at least, Dr. Magnes did not act in the best interests of Zionism and the cause of peace in Palestine.

New York, December 16 Herman Speier

Was It Fair?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It is a matter of freedom of opinion whether one will agree or disagree with Dr. Judah L. Magnes's utterance at the opening session of the Hebrew University, as commented on in your issue of December 4. Is it, however, in line with the fine tradition of *The Nation* for deep human understanding and sympathy to refer to those who could not agree with it as "little bitter-minded Jews"?

You have often expressed admiration for these heroic Jewish pioneers in Palestine. They are not petty adventurers. All they seek is a return to a free, simple life that may become the cultural and spiritual symbol for Jewish life elsewhere. Theirs is a labor of love—they work with dignity and with consideration for their neighbors. And when, through misguided propaganda, what they are building with such toil is wantonly destroyed, when their old and defenseless ones are massacred, is it to be expected that they will retain their equanimity, that they will turn their left cheek when they have been smitten on the right? On deeper consideration, do you really think it was fair to call these men "little bitter-minded Jews"?

Boston, December 21 Hyman Morrison

[Nothing could have been further from our thought than to characterize all critics of Dr. Magnes by the phrase to which Mr. Morrison and other correspondents properly object. We regret that any such expression crept into our columns.—Editor The Nation.]

Rushing into Print

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I was painfully disappointed with your rash and ill-considered condemnation of the Jewish critics of Dr. Magnes's statement concerning Palestine as a group of "little bitter-minded Jews." I am afraid that what you say about the leaders of the American Jewish Congress rushing into print can be applied with equal force to your own editorial paragraph. Through your devotion to the ideal of pacifism, you have become blinded to the actual facts of the Palestine situation. The country is still very far from being in a state of security. The economic boycott and the attempted murder of Norman Bentwich furnish ample reason for the existence of a state of highly nervous excitement. Any capitulation at the present time to the Arab leaders would be nothing more than a cowardly admission that the Arab rioters were justified. I should hardly expect *The Nation,* least of all American magazines, to condone rioting and violence, yet that is exactly what you have done.

Pittsburgh, December 10 Saul Kaplan

"Worse Than Treacherous"

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your editorial regarding Judah Magnes, despite the evident sincerity of your tone, is false as to facts and misleading in its implication. The protestants against Judah Magnes, far from being "little bitter-minded Jews," as you bitingly refer to them, are rather the rank and file of the Zionists, i.e., those who have given of either their money or their blood or both toward the rehabilitation of Palestine.

No Zionist, however radical, ever wanted to antagonize the Arabs, and even the brutalities inflicted on aged rabbis, women, and defenseless rabbinical students have not shaken their belief in the fundamental goodness of the great mass of Arabs who were merely the dupes of a few Arab instigators and some petty English officials. Moreover, the most radical Zionist has never dreamed further than that Palestine, like Switzerland, should be a home for the three religions and for the two races, the Arabs and Jews, as well as other races.

We do not criticize Dr. Magnes for his exhortations to us not to lose our heads and not bear any bitter feeling toward the Arabs. Neither is the protest directed against his abandonment of political aspirations in the Holy Land, inasmuch as he is entitled to his own personal opinion. We do feel that it is most inopportune at this time, when the blood of the martyred victims

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is yet warm and solitary outrages are yet committed by Arab hoodlums, to exhort the friends and relatives of those very victims to cooperation with the Arabs, thereby insinuating that we had not cooperated before and that our failure to cooperate was responsible for the massacre.

As a private citizen, Dr. Magnes is entitled to his personal opinion, but he was wrong to speak authoritatively when he had no right of authority; he was indiscreet in not waiting for the Arabian atrocities to subside, and for the English committee to complete its investigation. Coming from the Chancellor of the Hebrew University, his meaningless and misleading words are worse than treacherous.

Brooklyn, December 6 MICHAEL CANICK

Whose Bayonets?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: What does Dr. Magnes demand that has not already been put into practice by the official representatives of the Jewish people? What acts have they omitted to perform that they should merit denunciation in the name of culture and humanity? What other people has within a decade established school systems, published an exceptionally large number of books, magazines, and newspapers, and founded a university for the inculcation of scientific knowledge, as well as a familiarity with more academic subjects such as the humanities? Never in the history of the world has there been a movement which proceeded along more peaceful lines and with a greater sense of consideration for the ultimate advancement of the ideals for which humanity has been striving. Was it not the Jews who opened hospitals to the long-neglected Arabs—a service which, in itself, stands on a par with the efforts of Dr. Grenfell in Labrador? Who took the unskilled and unorganized Arab laborers and welded them into unions and labor societies so that their standard of living has been raised? How do you account for the fact that the official records show that hundreds of Arabs protected their Jewish neighbors, at the risk of their own lives?

To say that the Jews are building a home on bayonets is to say that up to last August the Jews were brandishing knives at their Arab neighbors, which any child knows to be absurd and untruthful. As for last August, who but the Grand Mufti—a young fellow of thirty-six—told the Bedouins from the desert to be present in Jerusalem with weapons? Who started the damnable lie that the Jews had bombed the mosque? Who went into the rabbinical college and snuffed out the flower of Palestine's American-Jewish young manhood? Is it the Jews or the Arab instigators that have caused bayonets to play a part Palestine?

Boston, December 18 GEORGE J. BERGMAN

Jewish Enterprise in Palestine

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: What Ramsay MacDonald said at Geneva with regard to the Arab outbreak in Palestine—that it was an uprising of lawlessness and disorder, and that there is no racial conflict between Moslem and Jew—is absolutely the truth. Let me tell your readers what has happened to the Arabs since the Jews came to Palestine. Oranges which are now exported for about $7,000,000 yearly were hardly worth picking before the Jews arrived. This orange trade was brought about through Jewish energy and enterprise but the Arabs have profited by it. A Jewish electric company is supplying power and light to Jews and Arabs alike. The same company is working on a project

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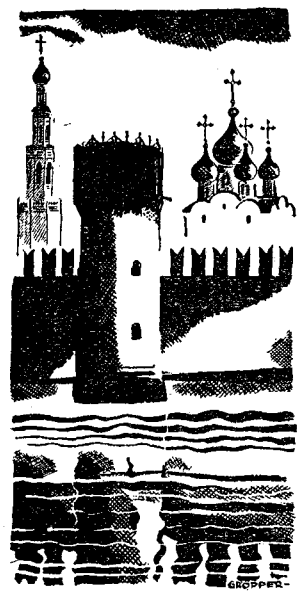

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to harness the Jordan and Jarmuk rivers in order to provide cheap current for all Palestine. Before the Jews came to Palestine everything wearable had to be imported from Europe. Now there are more than ninety factories producing all sorts of wearing apparel, furniture, bedding, matches, soap, foodstuffs, and, last but not least, cement and bricks. These things not only are being sold in Palestine, but are exported to the neighboring countries. The commerce of Palestine has expanded through Jewish enterprise to such an extent that often one sees four steamers at a time in the port of Jaffa where formerly only one steamer called in two weeks. From all these undertakings, which require money and courage, the Arabs reap the same benefit as the Jews.

When the Jews settled in Petach Tikvah it was a sand dune; they dug down 150 feet, brought up water, and turned the dune into a paradise. And what progress have the neighboring Arabs made? None at all. Go to any of the Jewish settlements and see how everything is progressing while the neighboring Arabs live in the primitive way in which they have always lived. The Jews work the land with modern machinery, while the Arabs use the same tools they employed when King Solomon built his temple. It is safe to say that the Jews have done more for Palestine in less than ten years than the Arabs accomplished in more than 900 years.

There will always be room enough for those Jews that care to stay in Palestine to live in peace with the Arabs if only the agitators will mind their own business.

Tel-Aviv, Palestine, November 4 S. L. RICHMOND

Wisecrack

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: *The Nation's* pious attitude regarding Palestine has of late been buttressed with some profound and learned references to the Old Testament. May I suggest, however, that your apparent approval of Dr. Magnes's position would prove far more convincing if you exhorted moderate Arabs to cooperate with him. "If space permits" should this time not have been a deterrent as you could very well have dispensed with that sophomoric wisecrack about walls tumbling down.

New York, December 2 OSCAR I. JANOWSKY

Contributors to This Issue

DONALD R. RICHBERG is general counsel for the leading railway unions.

STUART CHASE concludes in this issue a series of seven articles on American prosperity. This series, with additions, is now available as a Boni Paper Book.

ARTHUR WARNER is associate editor of *The Nation.*

GRANVILLE PAUL SMITH is a Southern poet who has contributed verse to various magazines.

WILLIAM MACDONALD is a regular contributor of historical and political reviews to *The Nation.*

PIERRE LOVING, long resident in France, is now living in New York.

EDA LOU WALTON is assistant professor of English at New York University.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is dramatic editor of *The Nation.*

FLORENCE CODMAN is a regular contributor of reviews to *The Nation.*

ALEXANDER BAKSHY, author of several books on the theater, writes on motion pictures for *The Nation.*

FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN is the rabbi of Temple Israel in St. Louis.

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Books, Films, Drama

The Sexton's Spade

By GRANVILLE PAUL SMITH

It always stood where he could lay his hand
Upon it without search or loss of time;
He spoke a language it could understand,
Down driven muscles in a ragged rhyme.

For twenty years it bit the living sod
And gnawed into the gravel and the clay;
A partnership for heaping clod on clod,
They put a thousand weary folk away.

One day he had a turn and went to bed,
To hear them whisper that the end was near;
And then a mad thought galloped through his head
So all his flesh closed on his blood in fear.

He stole at midnight to the lake and threw
Something that whirled from out his hands and made
A splash; and though their prophecy came true,
His grave was hollowed with a bright new spade.

Mobilizing the Jeremiahs

Contemporary Attitudes. Essays in Many Fields of Thought. Selected and Edited by Kendall B. Taft, John Francis McDermott, and Dana O. Jensen. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

THE editors of this volume have been moved by the laudable desire to "present definitely conflicting points of view on a number of important aspects of contemporary life and contemporary thought," excluding "dulness and prosiness" because those things "have been looked upon as the outward and visible signs of intellectual sterility." What they have done is to compile from the writings of upwards of forty authors, most of them Americans, something akin to an annotated catalogue of the seven-times-seven deadly sins of the modern age in general and of America in particular. Here and there, in the melancholy exhibit, appear a ray of light and an accent of hope, enough to bear out the promise of "conflict," but the leaven is not sufficient to leaven the lump and the net effect of the whole is one of gloom. I would not venture to affirm, even in the face of this recital, that there may not be still other sins with which our time should be charged, for the world is a large place and the possibilities of evil probably bear some rough relation to square miles and population; but if anything of great importance has been left out it would appear to have been through editorial inadvertence.

A few examples of what is offered will be enough to show what the book is like. Robert L. Duffus, who leads off with a survey of American prejudices, tells us that we need humility and tolerance; and André Siegfried assures us, as gravely as if it had never been said before, that "in its pursuit of wealth and power America has abandoned the ideal of liberty to follow that of prosperity." Agnes Repplier, when she wrote, saw conventions as "the life and soul of the country"; while Dr. Canby, who scans our sentimentality, concludes that we have been infected by "a disease of our own particular virtue," namely, "idealism, suppressed and perverted." Dr. Joseph Collins discovers in the history of the Ku Klux Klan "the enduring monument to our preposterous hypocrisy"; Katharine F. Gerould scores our passion for law-making and our nonchalant law-breaking; Walter Lippmann reminds us that America is a world power of a portentous kind and "no longer a virginal republic in a wicked world"; and Harold J. Laski emits the crushing dictum that "if we assume that democratic government is desirable, there is hardly a canon of institutional adequacy against which the American system does not offend."

The case is almost as bad when we pass to business and education. Professor Durant Drake, who elsewhere agrees with Kirby Page that a Department of Peace at Washington would help to abolish war, deplores the fact that business is conducted so much for private profit and would like to see in it more of a cooperative spirit; and Professor Ross exhumes from "the mutualism of our time" some new varieties of sin not all of which, he declares, are "superficially repulsive." Stephen Leacock, who tolerates coeducation as a kind of necessary evil not wholly unmixed with good, would rather like to see "every girl lucky enough to get a higher education" spend at least six months of her four years "in the training and discipline of a hospital as a nurse," because, of course, she is going to marry. "There is more education and character making in that," he writes, "than in a whole bucketful of algebra." John R. Tunis finds that "the sporting heroes of the nation are its gods," and Robert Littell sees a vision of "football law, football hygiene, the drama of football, football ballistics, football histology, the aesthetics of football."

When it comes to religion, science, and morals, the temper of America and that of the modern age are examined more or less together. The late Dr. Edwin E. Slosson discerns and laments a considerable list of dangers lurking in "the changing mind of man," while Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick is sure that "never in man's history has faith in God been more necessary to sane, wholesome, vigorous, and hopeful living than today amid the dissipating strain and paralyzing skepticism of modern life"—a conclusion which Professor Conklin, looking at religion from the standpoint of science, appears to regard as not wholly quixotic. There are sharp raps at the questionable state of contemporary morals, the cult of violence, the harmfulness of so-called good men, the spread of recklessness under the glamor of success, and the depressing effects of democracy in various manifestations. Professor Wertenbaker makes a brave attempt to show that a youthful America has done at least as well as was to be expected; Dean Gauss of Princeton declines to despair about the undergraduate; Bernard De Voto blesses the coeds, and Zona Gale and others have some mildly hopeful things to say about the outlook for literature, art, the drama, and music on this side of the Atlantic. On the whole, however, these 526 pages contain far more blame than praise.

What, it may in fairness be asked, is such an exhibit worth? Some useful historical purpose may doubtless be served by assembling facts and arranging them in order so that those who care for that kind of thing may see how unlovely the mess is; but if the contemporary attitudes here set out represent accurately the prevailing temper of our intellectuals, one can only conclude that the outlook for the intellectual life in this country is dark. The darkness will not be turned into light, however, by displaying classified descriptions of virtues and vices. The American intellectual has done yeoman service for his country by exposing its shortcomings and exploding its pretensions, and a certain amount of vigorous arraignment is likely always to be good for the soul; but too few of those who now assay destructive criticism have anything new or virile to say, and the messengers of hope are rarely concerned with anything save elaborating another device for keeping up appear-

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ances. What seemed to be, not so very long ago, a sturdy wave of intellectual radicalism is spending itself in ripples and scum on the shore of a dead liberalism. It would be worth while, I think, for the intellectuals to make the experiment of letting the evils that so much distress them churn on for a bit without giving so much attention to the turmoil, and to devote themselves to developing the good art, the sound writing, the decent politics, and the sensible morals they profess so earnest a desire to see.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Meet the Wife

The School for Wives. By André Gide. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

IN this brief and remarkably condensed novel M. Gide shows himself to be not only profound but over-subtle, for so fastidiously has he handled the character drawing and the central theme that the real point is likely to be missed. In "The Counterfeiters" the author used the diary framework to give his people neighborly reality and to enable him to comment freely upon them and their affairs, although the comment is limited strictly by the terms of Edouard, the novelist, whose notebook we are supposed to be reading.

This book depicts the gradual disillusionment of a young wife, Eveline, who keeps a diary, in regard to her husband, Robert. Eveline discovers that Robert is a liar, a cozener, and a prig; but Eveline herself is also, in another sense, an out-and-out prig with quite impossible "chimerical ideals." What, then, in reality, is she and what is he? Neither knows, and Eveline does not even realize, until twenty years have passed, that her husband really loves her. When she realizes it, she has ceased altogether to love him. The subject of the book is concisely phrased by Robert in a last talk with his wife before she enlists as a nurse in a fatal sector at the war front. "You say I am not the man you thought. But then you are not the woman I thought, either. How is it possible ever to know whether one is the person one thinks one is? . . . The question is, you see, whether emotion exhausts itself in the expression of emotion, or whether, on the contrary, it is called into being by expression. . . . And indeed one begins to doubt whether anything exists in reality apart from appearance." This is the bitter moral or philosophical pill that M. Gide asks wives, schooled or unschooled, to swallow.

PIERRE LOVING

A Poet on Hell and Women

Hell in Harness. By Joseph Auslander. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $1.75.

Letters to Women. By Joseph Auslander. Harper and Brothers. $2.

JOSEPH AUSLANDER is far too facile a poet. He has grace, excellence of music, and language, a quick poetic insight into character or scene; yet despite all this he is of less importance as a poet than a number of more awkward and more groping writers. He has somewhat the same annoying fluency as the English poet Humbert Wolfe. Like Wolfe he is in the literary tradition without being strikingly individual. He inherits something from the younger Keats and something from the weaker Browning. His words flow effortlessly, melodiously, without anything of that impact which words must have if they are to be, in Frost's definition, "deeds." The reader follows with a mild delight, usually quite unstirred by either pleasure or dislike.

We have two books in a year from Auslander's pen, and two very different books. "Hell in Harness" is a tale in verse concerning a New York East Side youngster who ends in the electric chair, convicted of a murder he did not commit. The verse moves rapidly. The story is fairly dramatic. One reads it as one would a cheap novel. It is not a poem unless we are to consider any verse-narrative a poem. The characters, like movie characters, play their rather unconvincing parts convincingly. The poem has not the energy of rhythm or action that makes The Set-up an interesting poem on a prize-fight. It has not the intense feeling of Auslander's shorter narrative Steel. It is an example of how much too easily Auslander writes anything he may choose to write.

"Letters to Women" (to Elinor Wylie, Amy Lowell, Eleonora Duse, Emily Dickinson, Virginia Clemm, Fanny Brawne, Sappho, Lot's Wife) is a more serious poetic endeavor. Mr. Auslander knows these women; he has read their lives; he interprets them imaginatively. If he does not tell us anything very new concerning them, we are not amazed; that is not his purpose. These women have moved him as a poet, and he addresses them as one poet would another. Whatever their artistic function, they have been women of vision or women close to an artist's heart. Mr. Auslander is interested in them as personalities and he presents them to his reader as personalities. In addressing Elinor Wylie, for example, he makes use of the images and emotions most frequently to be found in her own poetry. The same statement holds for his study of Amy Lowell, one of the best in the book. The study of Emily Dickinson, which won the Palm's prize of $1,000, is less interesting than some of the others; Emily Dickinson's personality is too subtle to be easily presented. The poorest poems are those in which Mr. Auslander allows himself the freest emotional outpourings: Virginia Clemm, Duse, Lot's Wife suffer from too close an identification with his personal feelings.

The "Letters" make a pleasing collection as letters. As poems they suffer from Mr. Auslander's fluency in rhythm, rhyme, and phrase. Good poetry has to be pulled from deeper roots and more rocky soil. The only ease allowable to a poet is that ease which comes after the full circle of struggle for exact and emotional statement has been made. One never feels this struggle back of Mr. Auslander.

EDA LOU WALTON

The Economics of the Contemporary Theater

Box-Office. By John Anderson. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.50.

The Revolt of the Actors. By Alfred Harding. William Morrow and Company. $3.50.

MR. ANDERSON'S little treatise on the commercial aspects of the American theater is valuable and refreshing for the simple reason that it is written from the standpoint of one in close contact with realities. He has undertaken to trace in outline the effects of the theatrical business upon theatrical art, and he recognizes the fact that under no possible conditions could the two be entirely divorced. The production of a plan is a costly undertaking which someone must pay for, and the box-office is the place where the payment is made. Evil results only when the costs are so great that the manager can take no risks, can produce nothing which does not appeal to a very large audience, and is compelled to charge an exorbitant price for admission. Hence the trouble with the New York theater is not that it is "commercial" but simply that the running of it has become so expensive as to make mass appeal inevitable. If it cost twenty-five thousand dollars to

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publish a book American literature would be in at least as bad a way as the American theater now is.

It is probable that the monopoly established by Erlanger and later fought by the Shuberts was largely responsible for the destruction of the provincial theater, but Mr. Anderson makes it clear that no one person or group of persons can be held accountable for the rapidly mounting cost of production which has now reached a point where the suitable presentation of any play inevitably involves a financial operation of very considerable magnitude. On the one hand increasing real-estate values have made the rent of a theater so high that it cannot possibly be paid out of the profits of any performance which does not immediately attract large audiences. On the other hand the organization of actors and stage hands into groups powerful enough to enforce demands of one kind or another has added greatly to the cost of the production itself. Every kind of labor, talent, and material is two or three times as expensive as it once was, and the advance in the price of admission is not proportionate. Under the circumstances any play, to succeed, must draw larger audiences than ever before and that means that the producer can afford to take fewer chances. Everything except the theatrical "best seller" tends to be forced out.

Mr. Anderson has no panacea to offer. To those enthusiasts who proclaim that the provincial Little Theater constitutes our one hope he replies with convincing skepticism that most of the Little Theaters now produce chiefly Broadway successes and that such a local folk drama as Paul Green's "In Abraham's Bosom" was not in demand until it had created something of a furor in New York. Theatrical centralization has probably come to stay and the best theaters have usually been in some sense "commercial." What we need is not so much the non-commercial manager as some opportunity for the manager who could play for smaller stakes and engage in enterprises which could be profitable without necessarily appealing to the largest possible audience.

Mr. Anderson touches only in passing upon the struggle which resulted in the establishment of the Actors Equity Association. Mr. Harding's volume recounts in great detail the story of the "revolt" and reprints the chief documentary evidence. His book will probably take its place as the standard account of events extremely important both in the history of the American theater and in that of the labor unions.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Prose in the Grand Manner

The Sacred Hill. By Maurice Barrès. Translated from the French by Malcolm Cowley. The Macaulay Company. $2.50.

ANY publication in English of Maurice Barrès's classic novel about a hill in Lorraine would be a noteworthy event; in Malcolm Cowley's translation there is the rare opportunity of approaching, as closely as is possible through an interpreter, the style and thought of one of the most important French writers of the past half-century. Mr. Cowley not only translates idiomatically and accurately but he achieves the most difficult goal of all—the reproduction of the rhythm of the original, the quiet power of Barrès's clear but ladened prose.

The only adverse criticism of Mr. Cowley has nothing to do with his translation. It concerns the statement in his introduction in which he says, speaking of Barrès's style: "It is not a 'French' style in the usual meaning of the term; that is, it has nothing in common with the limpid, bright, and rather shallow manner of Anatole France and his imitators." Even the quotation marks do not excuse the assertion nor lessen the suggestion that Barrès was a literary exception. To say such a thing is to include only the brilliant sparkle which runs from Rabelais through Voltaire and Renan to Anatole France, and to exclude everything else in French prose, particularly the tradition branching from Chateaubriand and de Guérin. To confirm such a statement to Frenchmen would prove embarrassing, especially to the group which acknowledges Barrès as its master; to preface Barrès's masterpiece with it only cheapens Mr. Cowley's otherwise authentic and informative foreword.

The story of "The Sacred Hill" is a true one. About one hundred years ago on the heights of Zion-Vaudémont in Lorraine the three Baillard brothers raised their great religious citadel. In the shadow of the hill they had been born and on it and round about it they experienced ordination, triumph, suspicion, excommunication, ridicule, and death. To Maurice Barrès the tragedy of their fanaticism was an inseparable part of the history, influence, and significance of the hill itself; without the hill the special quality of their heresy would have been unimportant. The hill was old—old enough to have supported pagan temples, to have seen Celtic chaos fall before Roman order, to have sustained at the same time both a church and a castle when spiritual and temporal power ruled together and by one another's will. That the hill should have fostered in the Baillards one more creed, one more revelation was only another manifestation of its spiritual power as natural to its destiny as that it should hold on its summit, at Leopold's death, another convent of the church which stamped upon and smothered the very exaltation the hill had inspired.

The highest expression of such an idea was certain to be lyrical, and although Barrès wrote in prose he attained through his style a rhythmic measure in perfect accord with his thought. His sentences are long, complex, and beautifully balanced. His contrasts between characters, between the foolish prophet Vintras and the zealot Leopold; between the sentiment of Thérèse and that of Father Aubry; between objects in the landscape; between the hill and the meadow; between themes, civilization, and revolt are as varied and as unified as the language. The strident details of realism are absent; behind Thérèse's flight and Vintras's insinuations they exist but are not emphasized. They were beside Barrès's purpose. He was intentionally detached, and this objective attitude serves to magnify his conceptions, to lend them strength, and at the same time to intensify his material, to lend it verisimilitude. "The Sacred Hill" gains thereby a grandeur that revives the finest of the romantic tradition.

FLORENCE CODMAN

Fiction Briefs

The Hawbucks. By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

Fox hunting squires, their gallant sons and fair daughters, together with their faithful old retainers, are the people with whom Mr. Masefield's new novel is concerned. George Childrey, on the death of his elder brother, arrives in England after seven years of knocking about in the colonies to take over the Bartons. Carrie Harridew, a playmate of his childhood, is now the belle of the countryside and George promptly falls in love with her. Unfortunately, some dozen or so other young men have anticipated him. These form a group of stock characters that seem to come straight from the pages of the more naive old melodramas. There are the scoundrel Vaughan, the slick lawyer, the silly poet, the burning young minister, and other recognizable types. The story progresses by a process of eliminating suitors one after another. Sandwiched in between the love scenes are delightful bits of description, and those who know their Masefield as poet will not be surprised to learn that there is a splendid chapter on a fox hunt, but these are

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not sufficient to save the book from its artificial characters and hackneyed plot.

Malaeska: The Indian Wife of the White Hunter. By Mrs. Ann S. Stephens. Edited by Frank P. O'Brien. The John Day Company. $2.50.

This was the first of Beadle's famous dime novels, and as such deserves reprinting from the edition of 1860. The story of an Indian woman who suffered from the failure of her white offspring to acknowledge her is still readable as well as curious. Mr. O'Brien's brief but informative introduction describes the series which the book began and supplies some bibliographical data concerning Mrs. Stephens, who wrote the novel from which "The Old Homestead" was taken.

Up at the Villa. By Marie Cher. D. Appleton and Company. $2.

"Up at the Villa" unfolds as the putative diary of a solitary woman living above the modern city of Rome. "To fill her lengthening leisure" she surrounds herself with a group of disillusioned young people: Adela, her conventional niece, Tatia, the little Russian sculptress, and three men—an Italian painter, Silvio, who is irresistible to women; Henry Fleming, a consumptive poet whose ardor and jealousy for Tatia hasten his death; George Rose, an English painter who loves Adela; and Theobald Woodman, stepfather of Henry. With ironic detachment the nameless diarist records the progress of the loves and jealousies of the protagonists. But the story is slight; it is the atmosphere of Rome which the author so successfully evokes, the subtle delineation of character, and the exquisite prose in which she has enveloped her story that will linger in the reader's memory.

The Uncertain Trumpet. By A. S. M. Hutchinson. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

Arrived at Ashton Parva the young vicar, David Quest, found that he had to combat not only the sins of the flesh as exemplified by the hunt-loving Flogg-Wallopers and sundry others, but also the more venal sins of the spirit displayed by the austere Pelham Heritage and by a malicious old maid whose accumulated venom came near wrecking David's work. Matters were further complicated by the sudden death of the vicar's patron. Through the long years of struggle to ultimate success Quest was buoyed up by the friendship of Banjo Heritage, Pelham's half-brother. Those who dislike overdoses of sentimentality, prolixity, and characters who respond like puppets rather than human beings will not be enthusiastic over this book, but others will discover in the vicar a character worthy of a place beside the immortal Mark Sabre.

The House of Gold. By Liam O'Flaherty. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

Passion, Disintegration, Nemesis, the division headings of this novel, supply the best key to it. It is the record of the destruction, moral, mental, and physical, wrought by one woman's beauty on husband, lover, friend, and priest. The course of the calamity is so swift that neither time nor space is spared for anything but a record of its track. Once or twice there is a fleeting glimpse of a lovely bit of Irish sea coast; the rest is lust and squalor. Adjectives such as powerful, brutal, startling fit the book no better than desperate, melodramatic, and insignificant.

Mississippi. By Ben Lucien Burman. Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. $2.

When States Lilly discovers that he is not the son of Captain Lilly on whose steamboat he has spent most of his life, but was born a Shantytowner, lowest of the low whites who fester along the muddy banks of the Mississippi, he feels that there is nothing for him to do but to go back to his kinsfolk; and go back he does, fighting down his homesickness until time and tide (this time a flood tide) bring about a reunion. "Mississippi" is a somewhat pretentious title for this extended short story. And the story itself occasionally lapses into exaggeration, sentimentality, and banality. But Mr. Burman evidently knows the Shantytown folk, those nomadic, unlettered outcasts who live in houseboats along the banks of the river, and he writes of them wisely and entertainingly. One would like to hear more about this little-known people, and in their own right, not as local color for a magazine story plot.

Seven Women. By William M. John. J. H. Sears and Company. $2.50.

The flat, open country of the Middle West, if authors are to be trusted, abounds in women with warped souls. These creatures have been analyzed and satirized by a whole school of writers; in "Seven Women" seven of them, as alike as peas in a pod, are portrayed as the witless exponents of their own prudery—embittered, vindictive women who exalt their malice as the shield of their fear of reality. This is Mr. John's first novel. The variety he gives to a single theme, the scope he causes that variety to embrace, the balance he strikes between his story and his design, remake an old idea into a novel of fresh interest, originality, and promise.

Dido: Queen of Hearts. By Gertrude Atherton. Horace Liveright. $2.50.

This is the third novel of Gertrude Atherton's which concerns itself with the ancient world. This time she tells the story of Elissa, deposed queen of Tyre who, with her faithful followers and bearing the vast treasure of her murdered husband, steals away with the Tyrean fleet and founds the new city of Carthage, there to reign as the Queen Dido whom Virgil is to celebrate in immortal verse. Mrs. Atherton sticks close to the traditional facts and tells the story of the ill-fated queen without the sentimental-romantic embroidery which is so familiar in popular historical novels, and which is so unsuited to the ancient spirit. But the book has no high spots; it is merely the competent work of an author who has done much better things. It should, however, prove entertaining and instructive to high-school students struggling through their Virgil, especially since Mrs. Atherton shares with most of them the opinion that the pious Aeneas was something of a prig, and was unconscionably long-winded in his narrations.

The Book Shelf

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, by H. W. Fowler and F. M. Fowler, based on the great Oxford Dictionary and first published in 1911, has been brought out in a new edition revised and much enlarged (Oxford University Press, American Branch; $4.50).

English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, by G. L. Apperson (E. P. Dutton and Company; $8), offers the novel feature of "dated quotations, in chronological order, drawn from the whole range of English literature," accompanying the various sayings.

Recent publications of the University of California Press in history and international relations include *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance,* by Alfred L. P. Dennis ($1.50); *The International Government of the Saar,* by Frank M. Russell ($1.75); *Some Aspects of the Recent Foreign Policy of Sweden,* by Eric C. Bellquist ($1.75), and *The Encomienda in New Spain: Forced Native Labor in the Spanish Colonies, 1492-1550,* by Lesley B. Simpson ($3.50).

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Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1701-1729 (Jackson: State Department of Archives and History), is the second volume of a series devoted to the colonization, development, and government of the French province of Louisiana. The papers have been translated and edited by Dunbar Rowland and Albert G. Sanders.

The fourteen-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino has been commemorated by the reproduction in facsimile of *Regula S. Benedicti* (The Rule of St. Benedict) from the earliest manuscript copy, now at the Bodleian Library (Oxford University Press; $2.50). The work is edited by E. A. Lowe.

The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts, familiarly known as the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, has been reprinted in facsimile from a copy of the 1648 edition in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California, with an introduction by Max Farrand (Harvard University Press; $5).

Goethe's Faust: Part I, translated by William Page Andrews, edited and revised by George M. Priest and Karl E. Weston (Princeton University Press; $4), is the first instalment of a metrical version by the author of "Goethe's Key to Faust" and other studies.

The latest addition to the Library of Living Classics, edited by Manuel Komroff, is *The Persian Letters of Montesquieu,* reproduced "with a few minor corrections" from the translation of John Davidson (The Dial Press; $4).

An English translation by Samuel Putnam of Joseph Delteil's *On the River Amur,* with illustrations by Alexeieff, has been brought out by Covici-Friede ($12.50).

South and East, by John Masefield, already published in a recent collection of his verse, has been separately issued in a large-type quarto form with six color plates by Jacynth Parsons (The Macmillan Company; $2).

A third edition, in one volume, of Wilbur L. Cross's *Life and Times of Laurence Sterne* (Yale University Press; $5) contains some emendations of the previous text and additions to the bibliography.

The Origin of Species, by Charles Darwin, has been added to the Thinker's Library (London: Watts and Company; 1s.). The text is that of the sixth and last edition.

Drama

A Peevish Play

IT is, I take it, no part of a dramatic critic's business to inquire too closely into whatever private reasons a playwright may have for changing his opinions. If, for example, Mr. Sydney Howard once thought very well of both women and Freud, he has a perfect right now to denounce the two of them in good round terms without thereby giving me any license to speculate publicly upon the causes of the change. But the artist should earn his immunity by assuming a reciprocal obligation. It is his business to cover up with the impersonality of art the private feelings which inspire him, and accordingly when Mr. Howard, excellent playwright that he is, exhibits before the world a drama like "Half Gods" (Plymouth Theater) it becomes my duty to say that the play gives every indication of having been written in some kind of a private pet; and it becomes, furthermore, my privilege to remark that such plays are much better torn up as soon as they have performed their only possible function, which is, of course, to relieve the minds of those who write them. Passion is the *sine qua non* of drama and even anger may occasionally serve the playwright very well, but a masterpiece cannot be founded on mere irritation even though, as seems here to be the case, that irritation nourishes a delusion of grandeur and believes itself to be moral indignation.

Throughout nine scenes Mr. Howard reiterates, with the tiresome insistence of a minor monomaniac, his conviction that the modern wife is a terrible creature. The particular one whom he has chosen to exhibit keeps her hard-working husband up late at night, neglects her children, and frequents a psychoanalyst. Moreover, lest her actions should not speak clearly enough for themselves and lest it might possibly be suspected that she is somewhat worse than the average, he employs three separate and distinct *raisonneurs* who see to it that the audience is continuously provided with a running homily inspired by the action. The first, a disillusioned divorcée, explains why she and all women like her make a mistake when they leave adulterous husbands; the second, a child specialist, delivers a lecture on the whole duty of woman—which is, of course, to breed; and the third, a kindly old judge with a copy of Emerson at his elbow, quotes something undoubtedly profound but of dubious application.

As a result of it all the male members of the audience are supposed to go home, spank their wives, and live ever after, not exactly happily but in that embattled state which, according to Mr. Howard, is characteristic of all truly sacred marriages. Yet so grotesquely does he overstate his case, so obviously is he speaking like a dyspeptic who has been kept waiting for his morning coffee, that even the husbands are embarrassed by the tactlessness of their champion. Irritation seems, moreover, to have robbed Mr. Howard of his skill as well as of his sense of proportion, for he not only states his platitudes with intemperate vehemence but states them clumsily as well. Certain brief, clear-cut incidents and occasional flashes of pointed dialogue are the only things which testify, even momentarily, to the talent he has allowed to be obscured. The piece as a whole, vacillating between shrill almost hysterical earnestness and slapstick farce, flounders like the work of an amateur.

Now I, for one, am perfectly willing to forgive Mr. Howard his unfortunate divagation if it will serve to purge his soul. Such accumulated irritation must be got rid of somehow and most of us, in similar circumstances, either send a letter to the *Times* or break up a few pieces of furniture. The pity is only that a playwright of Mr. Howard's talents feels compelled to write a play when either of the two more ordinary methods would probably have done just as well.

"Michael and Mary," A. A. Milne's sensational comedy-drama, seems to have settled down for a good long run at the Charles Hopkins Theater. Even its warmest admirers will hardly deny, however, that all of its drama is confined to one short scene in the second act, and the only question which remains is the question of whether or not the padding which surrounds this one scene is whimsically delightful or merely infantile. Many seem to incline toward the former opinion, but I must confess that I personally cannot understand their sense of humor. Amorous baby-talk is doubtless sweet in the ears of the one for whom it is intended, but public kittenishness leaves me cold, and it embarrasses me much to imagine Mr. Milne in his own study being so deliberately and persistently arch. As Macaulay remarked of one of Southey's feeble witticisms, "a sensible man might make such a joke in the privacy of his family circle. A sensible man might even write it down. But that any one should copy it off, send it to the printer, and correct two sets of proof makes one despair of human nature."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Films

The News Reel

THE motion picture was a screen newspaper before it was a screen play: it recorded events before it began to invent them. But there is clearly a marked element of entertainment that distinguishes the motion-picture record from its analogue in the ordinary newspapers. It is a peculiar kind of entertainment, and its presence or absence, as the case may be, does not become apparent until one sees a fairly large number of screen news items presented at one time. Such an experience has now been made possible by the News Reel Theater which has recently opened in New York. The venture is no doubt timely and welcome. There has been a need for it for some time. But a visit or two to this theater is sufficient to make one realize that screen journalism has hardly advanced beyond the rudiments of its art. The material of the new theater is the familiar news reel of all the cinema houses, except that it is reinforced by the addition of sound. Since it has been elevated, however, to the position of an independent show, it immediately forces the question whether the news reel in its present form offers both sufficient entertainment and sufficient information.

I feel fairly certain that it does not. The criticism that might be leveled against it and that comes easiest to one's mind is, of course, its obviously tabloid character. There is no doubt that in its subject matter the American news reel fashions itself after the model of the tabloid press. Like this latter it is anxious to let us see and hear Mrs. Peaches Browning discourse learnedly on the feminine fashions, or introduce us to the plans and hopes of the boy who has inherited a million-dollar fortune. It panders to our morbid curiosity, and such "celebrities" are its stock in trade. But being tabloid means something more than mere sensationalism. It stands for compressed and vivid presentation. And it is the principal characteristic of the motion picture and one of its chief virtues that it deals not with abstract ideas but with vivid, concrete images, even where as in the talking picture they are accompanied by words. For this reason the chief fault to be found with the news reel is not so much that it is a tabloid, but rather that it is not enough of a tabloid. Instead of giving us a mere reproduction of an event or a person, it should present a selective picture that would bring out the most characteristic features of its subject; and to do this it must use a more imaginative and more flexible technique.

The connection between this problem of form and the entertainment value of the news reel will be readily appreciated. It is one thing to see and hear Mrs. Browning as she is, and quite another thing to have her presented to us as she would be seen by an observant journalist who is also an artist at his job. A composite portrait of a person could be made vastly entertaining where a faithful reproduction would be merely dull. Seeing that so many of the "events" reported in the screen news are specially staged for the benefit of the camera and the microphone —a practice which places the modern news reel somewhere between the pure record and the invented play—there should be really no difficulty in enlivening the cinema reporting by allowing it more freedom in the way of deliberate arrangement and of the personal touch of an imaginative journalist.

"Devil May Care" (Astor's), starring Ramon Novarro, is one of those musical costume plays which leave the impression of complete futility. With its few tunes indifferently sung, mediocre acting, and pointless plot, it has very little to justify it.

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Dr. Magnes and Zionism

By FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN

JUDAH L. MAGNES, Chancellor of the Hebrew University, stirred up a veritable hornets' nest by declaring, in the midst of the Palestinian crisis, that Zionists must abandon the hope of establishing a Jewish Palestine, that a representative parliament ought to be instituted there, and that Jews and Arabs should make peace among themselves. His position was condemned by Zionist officials, by students at the Hebrew University who hissed his address, by the American Jewish Congress, by the Jewish press generally, by rabbis, by Jewish legionnaires, and by many others. His critics are of two classes. Some are unalterably opposed to his plan; others regard this as an inopportune time to suggest it. I agree entirely with Dr. Magnes. I regard his views of Palestine as the only ones which an enlightened liberal Jew (using the word "liberal" in a philosophic and not a religious sense) can hold. In addition to that I believe they are practicable.

What are the facts about Palestine? At the present time, there are about 125,000 Jews there, 600,000 Arabs, and perhaps 50,000 Christians. The land is being administered by a British high commissioner, who is an absolute autocrat, responsible for his actions to no Palestinian group but only to the British administration in London. The only appeal that Palestinians have against his decisions is to the Cabinet or Parliament of England. The government of present-day Palestine is undemocratic and despotic. Practically, the administration has curtailed no personal liberties, and has granted autonomy to communities, but theoretically there is no political freedom in Palestine. The taxes are levied by the high commissioner. Not only is there taxation without representation, but the whole administration of the country is dictated by London and its officials and not by the people who reside in Palestine.

One of the great slogans of the World War, phrased by Woodrow Wilson, was the self-determination of peoples. The Arabs contend that in 1915 General M'Mahon, a British general, promised independence to the Arabs of Palestine if they would rise against the Turks and favor the British, and declare that they now want this promise redeemed. There is some doubt as to whether this promise was made, or whether if made it was authorized in London. Even assuming that no such promise was made, the problem still remains, what of self-determination for the Palestinians? Certainly Jews, who for centuries have struggled for political rights, will not justify denial of this right to any group. How can liberals, who sympathize with the desire of the Philippines for independence, with Chinese Nationalist aspirations, with India's desire for dominion status, deny to any group the right of democratic government? Are the Jews ready to become parties to tyranny? The fact that the condition of the Arab was worse under Turkish rule is no argument at all. The very hope of political Zionism is based on a desire for national independence. The fact that there are Arabs elsewhere who have political autonomy is also irrelevant. The ideal of the self-determination of peoples is one to which most Jews, certainly Zionists, subscribe.

If the Palestinians were to be granted full political freedom, the Arabs would easily dominate any established political Parliament, and they could easily put an end to Jewish immigration, and thus close the book of Zionism. In order to prevent this from happening, and in order to enable Great Britain to carry out her pledge to the Jews as made in the Balfour Declaration, St. John Philby suggests that though political autonomy be granted in Palestine, the minority rights of Jews be recognized, and the high commissioner retain the power of veto over any legislation. The recognition of minority rights implies the right to a minority language and to minority schools. If the high commissioner has the right to veto legislation, any attempt, not based on economic motives, to restrict immigration can be frustrated. St. John Philby's proposal, indorsed by Dr. Magnes, is fair to both Arab and Jew.

Now, as to the timeliness of Dr. Magnes's utterances. There are many who feel that even if he is right he should not have spoken out at this time of crisis. The time to speak out on fundamental principles is not when no issue is at hand, but when issues are open and principles are needed with which to solve these issues. If as a result of the investigation that is now going on to sift the causes of the riots in Palestine, any changes are to be made in the status of Palestine, these changes should be determined by principle and not by opportunism. There is no doubt that from the standpoint of immediate practical expediency the Jews have to lose by insisting on principles as Dr. Magnes does. Because the Arabs were the aggressors and because their hands are stained with the blood of innocent victims, their demands are bound at present to lose force. But shall the Jew at this late date sacrifice principle to expediency? If I understand Jewish history at all I see it as an expression of loyalty to an ideal. Material things, wealth, power, influence, all were sacrificed by our fathers for the ideal. Shall we in Palestine, the cradle of our ideals, where Amos pleaded for justice, Hosea for love, and Isaiah for peace, erect a new altar and sacrifice upon it the ideals of our tradition? Is it for this that we want Zion? In times of crisis, the prophets demanded the application of principle to vital issues. Amos denounced ritual not on a week-day but on a holy day before the crowds fulfilling ritual duties. A Zion built on expediency would be a renunciation of Judaism. Not with bayonets but with good-will must Zion be redeemed. Palestine will remain, until the Arab leaves of his own volition, a bi-national country, the Switzerland of Asia, the home of three great faiths—Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism. Here is an opportunity to demonstrate to the world that religious bigotry is not essential, that Jew, Christian, and Mohammedan can live together in peace and harmony. Thus the Holy Land can again teach the world. I therefore regard Dr. Magnes's utterance as timely and in keeping with Israel's finest tradition. He spoke not as a scheming politician but as a courageous prophet.

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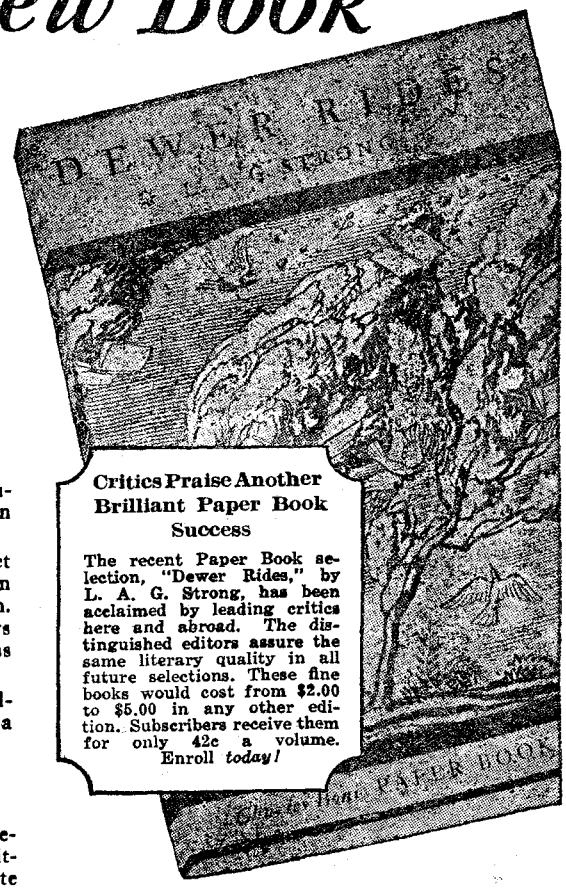

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